New Republic

February 11, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES

Containing a Special Section

ELECTIONS: 1946

YOUR CHANCE TO CHANGE CONGRESS NOW

IN TWO PARTS: PART ONE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A landmark in the literature of American civilization."

—DEAN HARRY J. CARMAN, *Columbia University.*

In this long-awaited work, Dorfman pictures our social development in relation to our changing economic thought—a unique appraisal based on the spoken and written word of 250 years. "Monumental . . . The volumes blaze a new trail . . . a vast amount of material pertinent to an understanding of American civilization."—RALPH H. GABRIEL, *Times.* 2 vols., boxed. $7.50

THE Economic Mind

in American Civilization (1606-1865)

by JOSEPH DORFMAN

The biggest subject: Survival

Mankind's basic urge for self-preservation is in evidence now as never before. That accounts for the tremendous—and growing—response to Norman Cousins' book, "the most cogent, the clearest statement of the case for supra-national control yet written."—*Los Angeles Times.* "Truly modern men will disprove their obsoleteness by giving it top priority on their reading list."—CHARLES LEE, *Phila. Record.* 64 pages; cloth bound. $1.00

by Norman Cousins

MODERN MAN IS OBSOLETE

His finest psychological adventure story!

GRAHAM GREENE

His biggest-selling novel in England, this brilliant, macabre story was published here six years ago as *The Labyrinthine Ways.* Now it is reissued under its original title, a rare treat for readers who love a desperate chase and rich characterizations. $2.50

THE POWER AND THE GLORY

Their unique and beautiful adventure became an enchanting book.

When the Lippincotts bought a Navaho trading post in Arizona, they fulfilled their dream of peace and contentment. The story of their four-year experiment in living, and of the Indian boy-artist they discovered, is "a perfectly delightful American chronicle."—HARRY HANSEN, *World-Telegram.* $3.75

SPIN A SILVER DOLLAR

by Alberta Hannum

With 12 full-color illustrations by the Indian boy, Beatien Yazz.

At all booksellers

THE VIKING PRESS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 6 NEW YORK, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1946 NUMBER 1628

The Issues Are Clear

AMERICA is about to enter a major political campaign. In all the campaigns of Franklin Roosevelt from 1940 on, the *New Republic* published pamphlets that were used in many hundreds of thousands to aid political action by liberals.

In those years, liberals lived in fear of a pendulum that was swinging to the right. They worked in the inspired knowledge that under President Roosevelt, regardless of the outcome, the issues would be kept clear.

Today the pendulum is swinging once more to the left. Workers are aroused and organized for political action. Veterans are returning with an altogether new understanding of politics. The unsolved problems of the war are forcing new groups into political action.

Today the great danger is that the issues will not be kept clear.

A man who cannot find a house to live in, who is denied adequate social security, whose standard of living is reduced by inflation, becomes aroused and embittered. His anger and bitterness may drive him Right or Left, into intelligent action or useless recrimination. It would be altogether tragic if through lack of understanding of the issues before America, the present ferment in America, which is liberal in its origins and in the answers it seeks, should lead to the victory of barren reaction in the 1946 elections.

It would be tragic because, as our supplement proves, the basic issues are clear.

In this supplement we have told the story of the Seventy-ninth Congress in 1945, and how reaction in Congress choked the program initiated by President Roosevelt and carried forward by President Truman.

It is not the whole story. Sometimes in 1945, President Truman supported poor legislation. Sometimes he accepted a hollow compromise from Congress, rather than fighting through his demand for progressive legislation. Yet in his appeal to the American people on January 14, President Truman showed the courage of Franklin Roosevelt. In his annual message President Truman kept the issues clear. He renewed his demands for continuing price control, for a full-employment bill, for a permanent FEPC, for a 65-cent minimum wage, for a health and medical-care program, for the development of the St. Lawrence Seaway, for repeal of the Johnson Act, for the extension of crop insurance, for broadened social security and for the unification of the armed forces. In world policy, the President endorsed full support of the UNO and the strengthening of the UNO so that it may become the "representative of the world as one society."

Since then, President Truman has called for the rapid passage of the British loan, and for the civilian control of atomic energy.

Reaction on its part has also kept the issue clear.

In the House of Representatives, the first point of President Truman's program, the extension for one year of federal control of the United States Employment Service has been beaten. The fight against the President's proposal, important in aiding reconversion, was led by Representative Dirksen, Republican of Illinois. The final vote was 263 to 113. Of the 113 liberals who supported the President, 109 were Democrats. Of the 190 Republicans in the House, three supported the bill.

CONTENTS

Editorials
- The Issues Are Clear 171
- Congress and Strikes 174
- Russia, Britain and UNO 175

General Articles
- Beyond Imagination . . . Philip Morrison 177
- Harry Hopkins . . . Robert E. Sherwood 180
- Three Poems . . . . Theodore Roethke 181
- The Hole in Your Pocketbook . . "Potomacus" 182
- "Best Job in the World" . Ralph G. Martin 185
- Washington Notes . . . . . T. R. B. 188
- The Majestic; the Royale . . Stark Young 189
- The Bandwagon 189

Correspondence 190

Books in Review
- New Beginning . . . . . Heinz Eulau 191
- Both Sides of the Street . . Bucklin Moon 193
- Future of a Partnership . . Denis Plimmer 194
- Worth Reprinting . . . George Mayberry 196
- Early Sorrow . . . . Walter N. Polakov 197

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now the British loan is before the House. There is grave danger that it may be defeated by reaction.

The Republican Party is going all out to capture control of Congress this year. On January 18, Representative Joe Martin, minority leader of the House, opened the campaign.

"The election of a Republican majority in the House of Representatives and in the Senate in 1946," said Martin, "will mean that after some fourteen years, you can expect a Congress capable of reaching common-sense agreements on the solution of national problems."

In contrast with President Truman's clear and specific program, here is Representative Martin's program:

World policy: "We are opposed to any betrayal of the small nations of the world in the making of the peace. . . . We reject great-power domination of the world. . . . World peace does not require us to endorse alien doctrines."

Domestic policy: "We believe in the competitive system. . . . Money has to be attracted to work. Management has to be attracted to work. . . . Republicans are opposed to governmental extravagance and high taxes and interference by government. . . ."

No mention of the United Nations. No mention of the right of Americans to employment, to security, to fair wage standards and protection from discrimination.

It is altogether possible that the Republicans will capture control of Congress this year. If they do, our world policy will be strongly influenced by Senator Wherry, Republican whip in the Senate. Joe Martin will be speaker of the House and a major power in government.

When the Washington *Times-Herald* published a wild and violent attack on the Soviet government on January 28, Senator Wherry introduced it into the *Record* as "a very timely editorial." On 46 key votes in the past few years, Senator Wherry has voted against progress 41 times. His present efforts are devoted to getting more food for Germany and Austria. Despite General Eisenhower's assertion that "within the American zone mass extinction by starvation will not occur," Senator Wherry has introduced into the Senate a resolution calling upon the armed forces to "take immediate steps toward relieving the appalling famine in Germany and Austria." Already the Army is diverting supplies needed by democratic peoples in order to raise German standards to a level equal to or above those of our allies. Senator Wherry's resolution demands that these food standards for Germany be further raised.

Joe Martin, our would-be Speaker, is another bitter-end isolationist, and reactionary. On 73 vital issues recorded by the *New Republic* since 1942, he voted against progress 62 times. He voted wrong on the Guam naval base, wrong on the repeal of the arms embargo, wrong on the revision of the Neutrality Act, wrong on the lend-lease bill, wrong on the Trade Agreements Act and the amendments to UNRRA. What right has Joe Martin, who voted against each step in America's participation in the struggle of all peoples against fascism, to speak now as the champion of "the small nations" and offer himself as Speaker of the Congress of the United States?

We condemn in our supplement the Southern conservatives, who, we believe, may destroy the Democratic Party if they gain full control within it. We applaud the efforts of liberal Republicans. We remain politically independent. But Southern reaction is largely financed and kept in power, as every Southerner knows, by the same Northern interests who in the North are good party Republicans. And the liberal Republicans in Congress are terribly few. As our supplement shows, 172 of the 188 Representatives who voted for a crippling amendment to UNRRA were Republicans. Of the 64 Representatives who cast anti-progressive votes on nine of the 10 issues recorded in our supplement, 61 were Republicans, three were Democrats.

If the Republicans win control of Congress this year, according to Martin, "You will no longer see the spectacle of a Democratic President lambasting a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House for failing to jump through legislative hoops at his command."

As Representative Martin well knows, and as our supplement proves, President Truman's program was throttled by a coalition of Republicans and a few Southern conservatives of whom the Republicans made the fullest use. This is a measure of Representative Martin's irresponsibility. Leadership as irresponsible as this in a minority may be far more dangerous if it is a majority after the 1946 elections, when victory in 1948 will seem to be the reward of further and more effective obstruction. What shall we see if the Republicans, under Representative Martin, gain control of Congress? Not obstinacy in refusing to jump through legislative hoops, but paralysis in our government, in a most crucial time in the history of this country, and of the world.

No Pauley

President Truman should withdraw the nomination of Edwin W. Pauley as Undersecretary of the Navy. He should do this regardless of the action of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee. If the appointment is confirmed, Mr. Pauley should at once resign, in the public interest.

Testimony already given before the Naval Affairs Committee has shown, in our judgment, that Mr. Pauley is unfit for this high office, or for any office. Some of Mr. Pauley's testimony is contradicted by numerous other reputable witnesses. Some of it is contradicted by himself. There is no doubt, however, that while he had an important place in the Democratic Party, he lobbied in Washington, using his prestige in the party in the interest of his own pocketbook and against the best welfare of the American people. He sought to prevent the federal government from court

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action to recover oil lands in which he is personally interested—lands containing oil sought by the Navy Department in the interest of American military security. He lobbied on behalf of an oil promotion project in Mexico to which the State Department was strongly opposed in the interest of international amity. For him now to become Undersecretary of the Navy and, presumably, Secretary in a few months, would be a grave embarrassment to the Truman Administration in the elections of 1946 and 1948. In his own interest, that of his party and that of his country, Mr. Truman cannot afford to let the Pauley scandal go forward.

A Home for the UNO

After careful consideration of numerous possible locations for the UNO in the northeastern part of the United States, the special committee has made its first choice for permanent headquarters an area near Greenwich and Stamford, Connecticut, and its first choice for temporary headquarters, New York City.

The district selected, covering about 42 square miles, now has a population of some 10,000 persons. The representatives of these people on the county board of supervisors petitioned the UNO to come to the site. The chairman of the county board and most state officials understand fully that America is honored by the presence of the UNO and that this site is honored by being chosen among all sites in America. Some residents of the area are dismayed at the prospect of forcible removal, and one sympathizes with their feeling. Such removal will in most cases be delayed for many years; the plan is to turn over ownership of all property to the UNO which will then, as far as possible, permit the present owners to remain where they are, as tenants.

These individuals are entitled to sympathy, but what sympathy can there be for the residents of nearby towns who are protesting having the UNO near them? The 140 million homeless of Europe, the 90 million homeless of China, the great majority of the 15 hundred million citizens of the United Nations must read with bitter irony the protests of a few wealthy landowners in the neighborhood of the Westchester site. Their action is an affront to the hope of mankind.

The Kuriles and Trusteeship

Confirmation of the report that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill promised the Kurile Islands to the USSR at the Yalta Conference is being used by American isolationists and "nationalists" as propaganda against turning over the former Japanese-controlled Pacific islands to UNO trusteeship. The needless and prolonged secrecy regarding the Yalta arrangement is regrettable; but it is the procedure only, not the end result, that is to be deplored. The return of southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles to the USSR parallels the provisions of the Cairo declaration, which promised China all the territories taken from her by Japan. If the Yalta deal was objectionable, so was the Cairo promise; Russia's claim to the Kuriles is as well founded as China's to the Pescadores.

But the Japanese-controlled islands are in a different category. Neither the United States nor Japan ever owned those in the Central Pacific, which are still theoretically under a League of Nations mandate. They should be transferred to a UNO trusteeship, whose conditions should be set up by the UNO and not by the United States. This country, under pressure from the Army and Navy, is demanding exclusive control of certain strategic islands through a unilateral trusteeship under a clause we wrote into the Charter at San Francisco for this very purpose. There is no possible reason for such control except fear of a future conflict with Soviet Russia. The best way to make such a conflict less likely is to show our faith in the UNO and accept whatever form of control a majority of the nations now assembled in London propose.

Filibuster

The Senate filibuster against the FEPC is a grim and melancholy spectacle, and two others are now looming: Senator Bilbo threatens to hold up the loan to Britain by this means, and several Southern Senators are promising similar action against OPA price ceilings on cotton. Meanwhile, national business of the greatest urgency is blocked by a little group of men, nearly all of whom were elected by a tiny minority of the voters of their respective states. One sure cause of the rise of fascism in any country is impatience with a breakdown in normal legislative procedure. We cannot much longer endure the defiance of the democratic process by this handful of men.

Stan MacGovern in the New York Post

Don't Look Now, But—

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Young Mr. Ford Is Wrong

Henry Ford II is a serious-minded young man with good intentions. It is noteworthy that his company was the first of the "Big Three" to sign up with the UAW. He pulled a boner, however, when he demanded the dropping of all price controls for automobiles. Mr. Ford said his company was deprived of parts because some of its suppliers had gone out of business through losing money at their ceiling prices. The fact is that the OPA, at the request of the automobile industry, on last August 31 expressly exempted all parts for new passenger automobiles from price control.

Ceiling prices for Fords and all other automobiles were established by the OPA on the basis of the 1941 rate of production. When the Ford Company has reached that rate, it will show profits comparable to the average for 1936-39. Higher production means far higher profits. And finally, if the Ford Company or any other should be unable to increase production, and should lose money, the Price Control Act permits such a manufacturer to come in and apply for an adjustment in prices, which would certainly be granted by the OPA. This procedure is open to any manufacturer who does not realize his 1936-39 average earnings.

Curbing the Pampas Hitler

The big falsehood of the Argentine campaign is Colonel Peron's charge that America is smuggling arms to the opposition across the River Plate. In challenging the Argentine government to prove or denounce this charge, the State Department has helped to keep the issue clear.

How serious the threat of Argentine fascism is, may be seen from the election manifesto of the Association of Democratic Lawyers in Argentina, entitled "The Nazism of the Impossible Candidate" and quoted by former Secretary Morgenthau in a recent speech in Cleveland. It asserts: "It is easy to prove that there exists complete parity between Adolf Hitler and the impossible candidate: identity in methods, identity in aims and identity in the most spontaneous reactions."

But diplomacy alone, as Mr. Morgenthau proves, will not defeat Peron. Sanctions, the necessary step, were not imposed in 1944 because "we were not courageous enough to cut our beef ration by 10 percent, which would have made good Britain's loss of Argentina's supplies." Today, Mr. Morgenthau adds, "We are not selling arms to Argentine fascists, but we are selling everything but arms. . . . We can and should clamp down on these exports, whether or not we can obtain parallel British action. . . . It is only a question of whether our commercial interests should be allowed to overshadow our basic political faith and responsibilities."

With this we entirely agree and recommend that the whole matter be taken up by the UNO without delay.

Congress and Strikes

SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS and Republicans from the rural North are riding again in Congress to save the nation from organized labor. These legislative forays become tedious because of their obvious motives, but each succeeding raid also becomes more dangerous to the economic health of the country. These gentlemen from the South and from the rural North are simply not telling the truth when they try to jam through repressive labor legislation in the name of the common good. They are interested only in maintaining a low-wage economy. They proved this beyond dispute in the futile debates over federal unemployment compensation and full-employment legislation.

Right now the reactionary tide is carrying on its crest the bill bearing the name of Representative Case, a South Dakota Republican. If Mr. Case wrote this bill all by himself, we'll be greatly surprised, but let's skip that angle. The most interesting fact about the bill is that a reactionary coalition thrust it out onto the floor of the House by very unorthodox and unusual methods. It came forth from the Rules Committee without ever having passed through a legislative committee. It is customary for all measures to be routed through the legislative committee which has jurisdiction in the matter treated by the proposed bill. This committee then holds public hearings at which all interested parties may give their views, before the committee votes whether or not to recommend the proposed measure for passage by the House.

The Case bill, of course, is an unashamed and hateful attempt to emasculate organized labor. It would encourage civil suits against unions for contract violations; revive the injunction abuse that was corrected by the Norris-LaGuardia Act; and push labor relations far in the direction of compulsory arbitration.

Any member of Congress honestly interested in the common welfare may put the Case bill, or any similar bill, to a simple test requiring only one question:

"How will the Case bill, how will any other proposed labor legislation, including President Truman's own fact-finding bill, resolve the present wage crisies?"

If the Case bill were passed this week, would the General Motors Corporation decide to accept the recommendation of the presidential fact-finding panel, and settle for 19.5 cents with the United Auto Workers? Would the United States Steel Corporation accept the Truman proposal that it settle the steel strike for an 18.5-cent wage increase?

The answer is pretty simple, and can be adduced from the record. U. S. Steel is not going to follow the President's recommendation until the President pays its price. The price is the destruction of the stabilization program. General Motors is not going to accept the presidential-panel recommendations until steel settles,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and at any rate, according to the latest dispatches from the GM capital in Detroit, until it hobbles the union-security provisions of its contract with the UAW.

Through one shabby attempt at repression after another in the past five years, Congress has rendered itself almost incapable of taking a sane view of the problems that arise in our industrial society.

Congress starts out with the fact that organized labor has great power. There is nothing faulty in that premise, but from force of habit the reactionary cabal on Capitol Hill goes on from there to the conclusion that this power must be curtailed.

It will be a happy day for the country when Congress, in its frequent examination of labor-management problems, pauses after stating the first premises, and inquires: "Why does labor have great power?"

It may discover that the power of organized labor is actually a reflection of great concentrations of economic power among a few corporations, and that unions without power in such an environment are a contradiction in terms. The United Automobile Workers are powerful because a strike against a single corporation shuts down nearly one-half the productive capacity of the industry. The steel workers are powerful for the same reason. U. S. Steel represents one-third of the production of the basic industry, and together with Republic, Bethlehem and Youngstown Sheet and Tube, which usually act in union with Big Steel, is THE steel industry.

At no time more than the present should it be apparent to members of Congress that great economic power rests with the corporations, and that if it were not there, the unions could not exercise their own power of shutting off production.

Such reasoning might even elicit the proposition that corporations sometimes exercise their great economic power against the public interest. At this juncture of the debate, a CIO stooge in Congress might even arise and observe that in the great wage crisis of the winter of 1945-46, it was the auto workers and the steel workers who, in recognition of the public responsibility that goes with economic power, compromised their demands, while General Motors and U. S. Steel arrogantly maintained that the disastrous strike crisis would be resolved on their terms or not at all, and to hell with the President, the country, its workers and its stockholders. (And put in there, somewhere in the discussion, that while it was defying the President's compromise proposal, U. S. Steel issued a financial report for 1945 showing a tax credit of $78,104,664, under the terms of an Internal Revenue Act passed by Congress with tender solicitude for private enterprise.)

Conscientious labor leaders are aware of their tremendous power, and generally sensible of the public responsibility that goes with that power. The record will speak for itself in the case of the CIO unions in the present wage crisis. These labor leaders will even admit privately that the public interest would indicate some kind of public control to prevent the abuse of labor's power by willful leaders. But they cannot concede this point publicly while Congress is in its rut of nasty recrimination and one-sided consideration of the labor-management problem.

Once Congress recognizes that labor power is a reflection of corporate power, and thinks of "labor legislation" in terms other than the repression of unions, an atmosphere might be produced in which the whole problem of economic power may be studied, and a system of democratic controls devised. Until that time, "labor legislation" can only mean a field day for the reactionaries in Congress whose interest is not a peaceful and prosperous industrial society, but an old-fashioned low-wage economy with a "moderate" pool of unemployed as a balance wheel.

Russia, Britain and UNO

THE ORGANIZATION of the United Nations today gives better promise that it can preserve the peace than it did when it got down to business on January 10 in London, because it has brought diplomacy down to earth. The old pretenses of diplomacy that hid facts and feelings in international relations have been buried by the blunt candor of the new diplomats. Britain's Ernest Bevin did not spare the Russians when he said, "The real danger to peace is the incessant propaganda, the incessant attacks on Britain by the Moscow radio and the communists, as though there were no friendship with the British people." Russia's A. Y. Vishinsky openly belabored the British when he observed that in Greece the presence of British troops "contributed to the disturbance of order."

This exhilarating frankness has turned both the General Assembly and the Security Council into open political clinics where the whole world can see what its troubles are. Candor itself solves no problems, but candor attracts the support of public opinion to a forum where frankness is the common thing. Diplomats have been disgusting intelligent citizens for years by following the rule which assumed that political disaster would result when the representative of one country said in direct language that another country was misbehaving. So they drew poisonously sweet notes from the lute of protocol, completely out of accord with the facts. The false phrases did not save international relations from disaster; they only prevented governments from coming to grips with other governments except by war. The peace that the League of Nations once hoped to keep sank out of sight to the murmur of polite words. The United Nations is not going to make that error.

The practice of frankness is reassuring to all the sincere doubters who feared that the Big Three would use the United Nations as a screen behind which they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would hide the real troubles of the world through the use of the veto. The Security Council, whose powers could make it an agency of concealment, instead turns out to be an open forum almost from the moment of birth. It has had the hardest problems of the hour thrust upon it. Its sturdy refusal to dodge issues and the readiness of its Russian and British members to speak up about each other and to stay in meeting without retiring, at first bewildered and then amazed Secretary of State Byrnes, who had feared that the United Nations might cave in during the first month if it tried to do more than organize itself. "Let us avoid casting excessive burdens upon the institutions of the United Nations," Byrnes told the General Assembly on January 14. By debating the issues, the United Nations has gained rather than lost strength, because everybody today can be confident that the Security Council will listen when a complainant goes before it. And if the events of the first month mean anything for the future, we can be certain that no one government is dominating either the Council or the Assembly. In the selection of the non-permanent members of the Council, Britain had the upper hand. In the selection of the Commission on Atomic Energy Control, the United States won its points. And in the selection of the Secretary General, Russia's candidate, Trygve Lie, was taken.

The frankness in London discloses that the key problem to stability in international affairs today is the relationship of Russia and Britain. Java, Greece and Iran are simply the diplomatic battlegrounds on which these two big powers confront each other. Russia and Ukrainia asked the Security Council to investigate their charges that Britain was intervening in the affairs of Java and Greece. Iran, encouraged by Britain, asked the Council to investigate her charge that Russia had intervened in Iranian affairs. The problem of Java will probably be resolved outside the Council by modification of her colonial status, but Russia should continue to urge the Greek question on the Council for the sake of exposing whether the government of Greece is as tyrannical as observers report.

The issue whether Russia intervened in Iran in the formation of the state of Azerbaijan is fundamentally an issue whether Russia is pressing upon a sphere of influence in which Britain has long been dominant. Iran itself is a major source of oil for Britain and is no source of oil at all for Russia, which was rebuffed in the fall of 1944 when she asked the Iranian government for oil concessions. Iran is a bulwark of imperial security for England, lying along the route of sea communications to India. Iran, however, stands between Russia and the sea. Iran is an entranceway for Russia to the Middle East and toward the Mediterranean world, from which Britain tries to hold the USSR back. Britain objected strenuously during the meeting of the foreign ministers in London last September when Russia asked to share in the trusteeship over Tripolitania, on the central Mediterranean. Britain did not invite Russia last summer to the conference over Tangier, at the western end of the Mediterranean, and she did not invite her at once to the conference earlier in the summer on Lebanon, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and the western edge of the Middle East.

Since Iran, then, is but a pawn in a struggle between Russia and Britain, the decision of the Security Council on January 30 to let the Soviet Union and Iran settle their dispute over the question whether Russia intervened in northern Iran will not get at the roots of the problem. The fault lies not in the Council but in the Charter of the United Nations, which directs UNO members to thresh out their own controversies before coming to the Council. The problem raised by the Iran affair is not whether Russia has interfered in the domestic politics of a small neighbor, but how to preserve the integrity of Iran, to strengthen the country socially and to ensure that all foreign peoples and governments will receive equal economic opportunity within the country. Only by dealing with that problem can we get at the difficulty of the Russian-British rivalry, which is certain to keep Iranian affairs in foment no matter what sort of conclusion Russia and Iran come to in the negotiation over their dispute.

There have already been two false starts about Iran. The first was the Anglo-Soviet treaty of 1942 which provided for the withdrawal of British and Russian troops after the war; the military withdrawal would still leave Britain the sole holder of an oil concession in the country. The second was the proposal by Secretary Byrnes last November that Britain and Russia agree with the United States to move their troops out of Iran by January 1. Iran cannot be dealt with by being declared out of bounds. The United Nations should formulate for Iran a commercial policy of the open door and a social policy of domestic reform, and then establish a committee to equalize the influence of the various interested foreign countries. Iran is an issue for the world, not for Russia and Britain.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, HELEN FULLER, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY

Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, FIVE DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SIX DOLLARS; THREE MONTHS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

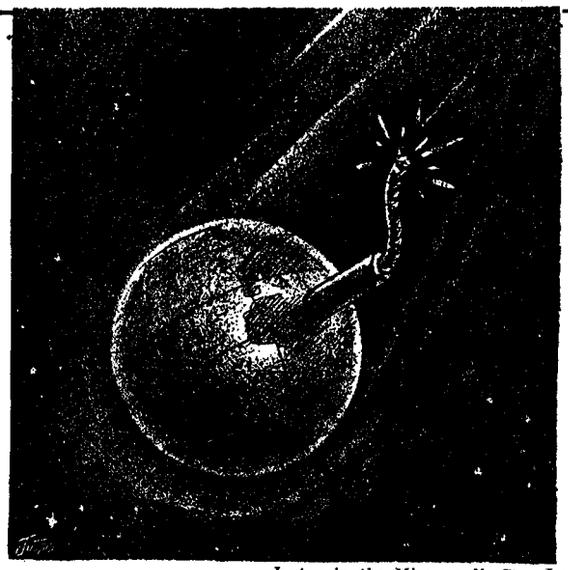
A STATEMENT OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE

We hope our readers will give the statement published herewith the careful attention it deserves. It is the full text of the testimony of Dr. Philip Morrison before the Special Committee on Atomic Energy of the United States Senate. So far as we know, this is the first publication in any periodical of the entire text.

Dr. Morrison is an atomic physicist who worked on the bomb project at Chicago and Los Alamos and on the Marianas. He was one of the group which went to Japan to see the results of atomic bombing.

Beyond Imagination

by Philip Morrison



Justus in the Minneapolis Star-Journal

We've Got the Know-How

THE ATOMIC BOMB is not merely a new weapon: it is a revolution in war. I saw the blackened ruins of Tokyo and Osaka, of Kobe and of Nagoya, and I know that a city cannot live under the fire raids of a thousand B-29's. The destruction of a great city in itself is not the new feature of the atomic bomb. To make clear why the atomic bomb is different one must talk of the B-29.

We of the Los Alamos project who went overseas in July to prepare the bombs for delivery over the target were stationed on the small island of Tinian, near Saipan in the Marianas chain. Tinian is a miracle. Here, 6,000 miles from San Francisco, the United States armed forces have built the largest airport in the world. A great coral ridge was half-leveled to fill a rough plain, and to build six runways, each an excellent 10-lane highway, each almost two miles long. Beside these runways stood in long rows the great silvery airplanes. They were there not by the dozen but by the hundred. From the air this island, smaller than Manhattan, looked like a giant aircraft carrier, its deck loaded with bombers. I have flown many times in a B-29, and I doubt that there is a more complex and wonderful machine of any kind. And here, far from the factories in Seattle or Wichita, were several hundred of these million-dollar craft. Here were collected tens of thousands of specialists, trained in the operation and repair of the delicate mechanisms which cram the body of the plane. In the harbor every day rode tankers laden with thousands of tons of aviation gasoline. A net of pipe lines supplied the airfields with fuel. The radio dial was busy with signals of every kind.

And all these gigantic preparations had a grand and terrible outcome. At sunset some day the field would be loud with the roar of the motors. Down the great runways would roll the huge planes, seeming to move slowly because of their size, but far outspeeding the occasional racing jeep. One after another each runway would launch its planes. Once every 15 seconds another B-29 would become air-borne. For an hour and a half this would continue with precision and order. The sun would go below the sea, and the last planes could still be seen in the distance, with running lights still on. Often a plane would fail to make the take-off, and go skimming horribly into the sea, or into the beach to burn like a huge torch. We came often to sit on the top of the coral ridge and watch the combat strike of the 313th wing in real awe. Most of the planes would return the next morning, standing in a long single line, like beads on a chain, from just overhead to the horizon. You could see 10 or 12 planes at a time, spaced a couple of miles apart. As fast as the near plane would land, another would appear at the edge of the sky. There were always the same number of planes in sight. The empty field would fill up, and in an hour or two all the planes would have landed.

Next day the reconnaissance photographs would come in. They showed a Japanese city, with whole square miles of it wrecked and torn by flame. The fire bombs dropped on wood and paper houses by the thousands of tons had done their work. A thousand B-29's, time and again, burned many square miles of city in a single raid.

The atomic bomb was something else. There were no shiploads of incendiaries. Instead of all the ordnance men and their bomb dumps, there were about 25 people from Los Alamos, a few Quonset huts transformed into testing laboratories, and a barricaded building. The strike took off about midnight. The field was deserted. Only two or three planes were warming up. A few lights burned around a single hard-stand.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One plane roared down the runway, took off, and set course for the cities of the enemy. The reconnaissance photos next told the same story. One plane, with one bomb, had destroyed many square miles of a city, destroyed them even more thoroughly and with even less chance for resistance or escape than the 1,000-plane strike.

I can imagine a thousand atomic bombs and an airport like Tinian's to send them off. But not even the United States could prepare a thousand Tinians with ordinary bombs. There are simply not enough people. Destruction has changed qualitatively with this new energy. War can now destroy not cities, but nations.

There is even more to be said. I remember vividly the lunch we had at the prefectural building in Hiroshima. The Japanese officials came there to talk to us and to describe their experiences. I sat at lunch next to the chief medical officer of the district. He had been pinned in the wreckage of his house for several days after the explosion. He lived a little more than a mile from the point of impact, and was still wearing splints. His assistant had been killed, and his assistant's assistant.

Of 300 registered physicians, more than 260 were unable to aid the injured. Of 2,400 nurses, orderlies and trained first-aid workers, more than 1,800 were made casualties in a single instant. It was the same everywhere. There were about 33 modern fire stations in Hiroshima. Twenty-six were useless after the blast, and three-quarters of the firemen killed or missing. The military organization was destroyed; the commanding general and all his staff were killed, with some 5,000 soldiers of the garrison of 8,000. Not one hospital in the city was left in condition to shelter patients from the rain. The power and the telephone service were both out over the whole central region of the city. Debris filled the streets, and hundreds, even thousands, of fires burned unchecked among the injured and the dead. No one was able to fight them.

THERE IS a word for this kind of attack; it is described as an attack of saturation. If you strike at a man or a city, your adversary protects himself. If you attack a man, he runs or strikes back at you; if you attack a city, it throws up flak, it musters its firemen, it treats the wounded. But if you strike all at once with overwhelming force, your enemy cannot protect himself. He is stunned. The flak batteries are all shooting as fast as they can; the firemen are all busy throwing water at the flames. Then your strike may grow larger without increased resistance. The defenses are said to be saturated. The atomic bomb is a weapon of saturation. It destroys so quickly and so completely such a large area that defense is hopeless. Leadership and organization are gone. Key personnel are killed. With the fire stations wrecked and firemen burned, how control a thousand fires? With the doctors dead and the hospitals smashed, how treat a quarter of a million injured?

A Japanese official stood in the rubble and said to us: "All this from one bomb; it is unendurable." We learned what he meant. The cities of all Japan had been put to flame by the great flights of B-29's from the Marianas. But at least there was warning, and a sense of temporary safety. If the people in Kobe went through a night of inferno, you, living in Nagoya, were going to be all right that night. The thousand-bomber raids were not concealed; they even formed a pattern of action which the war-wise Japanese could count on. But every hour of every day above any Japanese city there might be one American plane. And one bomber could now destroy a city. The alert would be sounded day and night. Even if the raiders were over Fukuoka, you, in Sendai, a thousand miles north, must still fear death from a single plane. This is unendurable.

WHEN the bomb is detonated in the middle of a city, it is as though a small piece of the sun has been instantly created. There is formed what we have called the ball of fire, which is a hot, glowing mass something about one-third of a mile across, with a temperature of about a hundred million degrees Fahrenheit in the center of it.

The effects from this small sun are as you would expect. In the first place, there is a sudden creation and expansion which pushes away, with terrible violence, the air that once occupied this region.

This air, shocked into motion, as we say, moves just like a blast wave from a great explosion of TNT. We often measure the effectiveness of a bomb in tons of TNT equivalent.

This pushing air creates an enormous pressure, even a great distance away. Behind the wave of pressure, which travels rapidly through the air, there come great winds, 500 to 1,000 miles per hour, winds which damage and destroy all structures.

If you are near the sun, you must expect to get burned. The people near this piece of the sun are burned on the body; the people and the structures underwent terrific radiant heat.

In New Mexico, where we were 10 miles away, on a cold desert, I felt as though the hot sun had been out for an hour when the explosion occurred. My face was warmed up.

In Japan, there was the same effect. Since they were closer there, instantly all organic material was burned up. For some distance it burned up the flesh. For a considerable distance it set fire to pieces of wood, curtains, textiles, to anything inflammable in the neighborhood.

There are two more effects. At the instant of the explosion there is emitted from this small sun not only the great push through the air, the violent blast, which is the violent explosion—there is not only the concentrated heat which you would expect from being close

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the sun, there is also a great amount of radiation, like the radiation used by doctors, like the X-ray radiation used for the treatment of cancer.

This radiation is very penetrating. There is no protection behind a foot of concrete, for example.

There is one more effect which may or may not be effective in a military sense, besides the instantaneous burst of these ray-like emanations.

There is left on the ground an enormous amount of radioactivity, corresponding, in the maximum case, to thousands of tons of radium. If this is the case, if this is deposited on the ground, it will be difficult to approach that area, that region, for a long time.

In New Mexico, where the explosion was on the surface, this activity was sizable. In both cities of Japan, this activity was negligible, simply because of the tactical choice of the method of employing the bomb.

In one case the radioactivity was concentrated on the ground; in the other case, in Japan, it was spread over a great area, and so there was not enough of it; it was negligible.

THE DAMAGE done in the cities struck by the atomic bomb is not easy to realize. Houses and buildings for a mile in all directions are totally destroyed. A good deal of comment has been attracted by the ferro-concrete structures whose walls still stand. These are very strong buildings. But they too are useless. I have been in these buildings. The window casements are gone, the interior walls are down, the roofs are collapsed, the furniture battered, plumbing fixtures and heavy machinery overturned. A great blast wind followed the shock and ripped through the buildings, destroying their interiors. Most of them burned. Brick buildings, and even steel-frame buildings with brick walls, are extremely vulnerable.

At Nagasaki, the Roman Catholic church was an old and heavy brick-walled building nearly a mile and a half away, and it suffered total destruction. It is likely that an American city would be as badly damaged as a Japanese city, though it would look less wrecked from the air. In Japan the wreckage burned clean; in a Western city, the rubble would still stand in piles in streets. But the city would be just as ruined, and the people of the city as dead.

The action of the blast on steel-frame factory structures is known from the wreckage of the Mitsubishi Torpedo Works in Nagasaki. Japanese homes are lightly built, but their factories are about like ours. And the torpedo-works buildings collapsed in a twisted jumble of steel onto the heads of the workmen and the still burning machines. For a good mile and a half all factory structures were totally destroyed.

For three or four miles from the point of impact there is heavy damage, making half the buildings unusable. In Hiroshima the fires which began after the blast, some set by overturned stoves and chimneys, some by the heat from the bomb itself, burned for 10 hours. The flames stopped at the edge of the river. Many places were completely destroyed by fire which had been only partly smashed by the blast. It is not hard to understand that fire-fighting was impossible.

Even more striking than the damage to buildings is the great number of casualties. Very few people were in shelters, because there was evidently no large bomber raid. Virtually all the people in the streets within almost a mile were instantly and seriously burned by the great heat of the bomb. These burns covered all the exposed flesh; sometimes even clothing caught fire and burned the wearer fatally.

I remember seeing one man, a patient, who had worn a railway-worker's uniform. This uniform in Japan is a dark serge with an insigne to designate his grade. This man wore, as insigne, a kind of a cross-shaped emblem over the left breast.

His whole body was burned very badly and blackened, with the exception of the region under this cross. That was because the white clothing passed the heat somewhat less than the dark clothing did. The dark clothing absorbed the heat and caught fire and burned him. Of course, the white clothing would ordinarily not do this.

There were reported to me some people who had even been wearing striped clothing upon whom they found the body had been burned in stripes. I did not see that.

People inside buildings were not burned by the flash, but were for the most part killed or seriously injured by falling walls and beams. Caught in the wreckage of their homes, many were burned to death by the secondary fires. Those fires resulted from combustion material set ablaze after hundreds of stoves had been over-

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The Statesmen Take Over

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

turned; this was in addition to the fires started by the bomb itself.

Of these people within a thousand yards of the blast, about one in every house or two—perhaps five or 10 percent—escaped death from the blast or from burn. By chance these people were screened from the heat of the bomb by some object too light or too strong to kill them by falling upon them. Many literally crawled out of the wrecks of their homes relatively uninjured. But they died anyway. They died from a further effect, the results of radiumlike rays emitted in great number from the bomb at the instant of the explosion. This radiation affects the blood-forming tissues in the bone marrow, and the whole function of the blood is impaired. The blood does not coagulate, but oozes in many spots through the unbroken skin, and internally seeps into the cavities of the body. The white corpuscles which fight infection disappear. Infection prospers and the patient dies, usually two or three weeks after the exposure. I am not a medical man, but like all nuclear physicists I have studied this disease a little. It is a hazard of our profession. With the atomic bomb, it became epidemic.

The facts and figures of this and other related effects of the atomic bomb are still under study, and remain for the time being classified information. I am not a medical expert in these matters, and I have tried to tell only the things I have seen.

It goes without saying that, like most of the scientists of the project, I am completely convinced that another war cannot be allowed. A working and realistic domestic policy ought to be determined on the premise that some measure of international control of atomic energy will come and come immediately, based on functioning, material agreements among the great and the smaller powers. We have a chance to build a working peace on the novelty and terror of the atomic bomb.

But I should not be a physicist if I left you with the impression that only in war a revolution has been made by the large-scale release of atomic energy. Man will not live the same again for this advance. I do not think you will soon see atomic automobiles, though you may soon see atomic rockets and atomic power plants. But the changes which will come are sure, and great, and beyond prediction. When science learned to control mechanical and thermal energy, we had the early-nineteenth-century maturing of the industrial way of life. When science learned control over electrical energy, we had the manifold changes which electricity has brought to daily life and to the structure of nations. When the chemists understood the nature of chemical energy, there was opened the way to new materials, to freedom from the restrictions of mine and farm, to the changes which chemistry is even today still bringing us. Now we have nuclear energy, based on a more profound insight into and control over the fundamental nature of matter itself. We have seen war change only six years after the key laboratory discovery in this realm. We physicists are professionals in change and in novelty. *That new times will come is our firmest conclusion.*

Harry Hopkins

by Robert E. Sherwood

HARRY HOPKINS spent so much time at death's door during his last seven years that the final act of passing through it must have been for him pretty much of a routine matter. But it is a tragedy that he died with the record of his own immeasurable experience unwritten. And it is a matter of sadness that he could not have been given some years of happiness with his family, whom he loved—some measure of compensation for all the punishment that he had taken.

He was regarded as a sinister figure by all of Franklin D. Roosevelt's enemies and by many of Roosevelt's most loyal friends. That was inevitable. His position was extraordinary, but so was his ability to fill it.

He was fully aware of the fact that he was a political liability to the late President. The very name "Harry Hopkins" became a sort of symbol of dark dealings and baneful influences in high places. The principal complaint against him seemed to be that he had not been elected to his post, that there was no constitutional license for the granting of so much importance to one individual; but there is nothing in the Constitution which abrogates a President's right to select his own friends and personal advisers. Roosevelt found in Hopkins a mind completely sympathetic to his own—and an imagination and courage comparable to his own. He made full use of these qualities and this nation and this world can be glad that he did.

Hopkins understood more than any other man of the profound and complex and often bewildering character of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He knew, and clearly, what were Roosevelt's true, ultimate objectives. Therefore, like his Chief, he could and did concentrate on the

Robert E. Sherwood, for many years a close friend of the late Harry Hopkins, is a distinguished American playwright. Among his best known works are "The Road to Rome," "Reunion in Vienna," "The Petrified Forest," "Idiot's Delight," "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" and "There Shall Be No Night."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forest while men of shorter vision were fretting about the trees.

If Hopkins had any of the devious qualities of Machiavelli they were certainly well hidden. He was no courtier, no yes-man. He spoke bluntly and with utmost clarity and often with a conspicuous lack of tact. It was certainly his purpose and his job to influence people but he didn't seem to give a damn about winning friends for himself.

There are many now who know how successfully he performed his overseas missions, starting with his first visit to Churchill when Britain was fighting alone in the winter of 1941, and his visit to Stalin the following summer at the time when many military experts were estimating that Hitler's conquest of Russia would be completed within six weeks. Hopkins was the real pioneer in the formation of the great coalition which came into being immediately after Pearl Harbor and which held together to shatter the Axis.

(Late in that summer of 1941, in London, I heard Churchill talking of Hopkins and of his long and perilous flight around the North Cape to Russia; the Prime Minister, with considerable emotion, delivered some fine Churchillian words about "the great heart that is within that frail frame.")

There are very few people, however, who know how enormous was the aid that Hopkins rendered to the late President in bearing the unprecedented, overwhelming burden of responsibility imposed upon the Commander-in-Chief in the waging of a global war.

The President was, in effect, the Chairman of the Board on which were represented the widely different and often violently conflicting needs and claims of the various services, the various theatres of war and the various Allies, as well as of the hundred and thirty-five million civilians at home. The President, alone, had to make these difficult decisions, only one of which was the diversion of a large amount of our manpower and materials and an even larger proportion of our scientific genius (not to mention some two billion dollars) for the dubious experiment of the atomic bomb.

Hopkins' greatest service was in assembling and appraising the manifold facts needed by the President in the making of these historic decisions. Hopkins could afford to have no personal interest or bias beyond the minimum imposed by the limitations of flesh and blood. He had to be cold and tough and ruthlessly impartial. He was all of that. He proved himself worthy of the tremendous confidence placed in him.

THE MORNING after Roosevelt's death Harry Hopkins spoke to me over the telephone from the Mayo Clinic. He spoke not with sadness but with a strange exaltation as though he had experienced the intimations of immortality. He said that the great realization we all had, the great memory, was of the truth that Franklin D. Roosevelt had never let the people down, that while the President had sometimes seemed to temporize and delay and make concessions to expediency, that was in the little things. "But in the big things," Hopkins said, "all the things of permanent importance, he never let the people down."

The next day, at the funeral in the White House, I saw Hopkins, who had flown from Rochester, Minnesota. He looked ghastly. After the service he went home to bed and I went up to his room and he talked with great spirit about the future. He said he was going to remain in Washington for the time being, to make available to President Truman all the information he possessed, and then, when that job was finished, he would start writing. There was a vast amount that he wanted to say.

It is heart-breaking that he couldn't have been given the time to say it.

He was a remarkable person, harsh and apparently unfeeling in some ways, and very warm and companionable and lovable in other ways.

I don't think that, in the big things, he ever let the people down, either.

Child on Top a Greenhouse

The wind billowing out the seat of my britches,
My feet crackling splinters of glass and dried putty,
The half-grown chrysanthemums staring up like accusers,
Up through the streaked glass, flashing with sunlight,
A few white clouds all rushing eastward,
A line of elms plunging and tossing like horses,
And everyone, everyone, pointing up and shouting!

Fruit Bin

How the cabbages hugged themselves in the darkness,
Like fat aunties bent over succulent gossip!
The onions preened their fine features like rich cousins,
Smooth as old linen, bland with hypocrisy.
Potatoes leered and stared, fishy-eyed, the sardonic uncles.
But when I pulled out an apple, what a bump of buttery skins,
What a tumble and bounce of red-cheeked, well fed mammas!

Flower-Dump

Cannas shiny as slag,
Slug-soft stems,
Whole beds of bloom pitched on a pile,
Carnations, verbenas, cosmos,
Molds, weeds, dead leaves,
Turned-over roots
With bleached veins
Twined like fine hair,
Each clump in the shape of a pot;
Everything limp
But one tulip on top,
One swaggering head
Over the dying, the newly dead.

THEODORE ROETHKE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

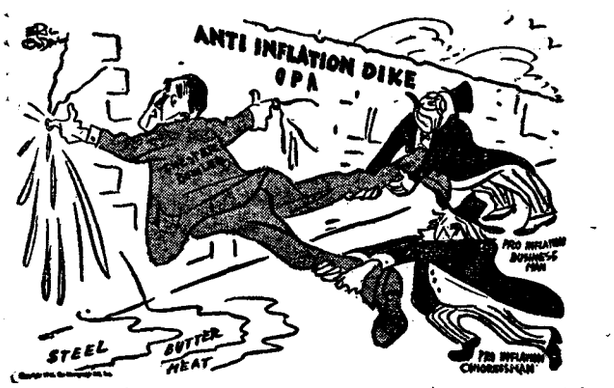
The Hole in Your Pocketbook

by "Potomacus"

MOST OF THE SIGNS point to a disastrous price inflation in the near future unless something is done about it—fast.

Nearly all the people are against any further increase in the prices and rents they pay. But Congress and the Administration are not likely to act decisively in the important period—the next three months—to prevent further dangerous increases in the cost of living.

These are the paradoxical facts that emerge from one of the most confused economic situations that ever befogged Washington. Legislatively, things are coming to a head very soon. President Truman is pressing upon a reluctant, apparently lazy Congress the imperative need for immediate action to extend the Price Control Act for a year and the Second War Powers Act for at least six months. Both expire June 30, and it is obvious that there will be a producers' strike for



Drawing by Godal. Copyright by Field Publications, Inc., and reprinted by courtesy of PM

speculative profits in April, May and June if Congress fails to act now, crimping the production and marketing of goods just as the advance notice of the January 1 excess-profits-tax repeal did last November and December.

The country seems headed into a further price inflation of 10 percent or more during 1946, while Congress and important figures in the Administration are helplessly wringing their hands. Such a price increase piled on top of the 35-to-50-percent cost-of-living jump since 1939 will cause severe damage to the living standards of a very large number of people. President Truman in his January 3 broadcast made an appeal to Congress and the people to hold the line, but the administrative orders and decisions of Reconversion Director John Snyder, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton Anderson, and others, all point toward price increases in such staples as butter, milk, meat, other foods, clothing, steel and cotton. These dents in the price line which the OPA has been trying to hold are being forced by the too rapid elimination of wartime consumer-price subsidies and by overriding orders issued by Snyder.

The strategy of inflation's friends is to place the blame for the current and future price increases on labor. Employers are clamoring for price rises (each for his own industry only, of course) on basic products such as meat and steel, to meet increased wage demands, they say. Actually, they have piled up reserves and profits—plus assured future revenue—adequate to permit substantial increases. These come from their savings in elimination of war overtime, repeal of the excess-profits tax, increased productivity of workers and the certainty of greater markets and lower unit-production costs which will result from known demand and the great purchasing power of wartime savings.

In some instances, the forces working for inflation ("just in my own industry," "just in my congressional district") have obviously been misguided. In view of the temper of the country, however, as shown by our soldiers and veterans, they are nevertheless politically stupid and economically dangerous. From the actions of some of them, notably the National Association of Manufacturers, the spokesmen for the National Retail Dry Goods Association and the major real-estate groups, it is clear that reactionary politics and short-term profits make up their carefully drafted blueprint for the future. It is apparent also that some of them are anxious to add union-busting to the program.

THE PARALLEL between events in 1946 and the inflation of 1919, of steel strike and open-shop campaign, will be interesting to trace in the coming months. We removed the few economic controls we had right after the 1918 Armistice and the subsequent inflation amounted to more than 28 percent. But the increase in production amounted to only 14 percent. The handwriting on the wall should be clear even to the NAM, but it isn't. The NAM line is still that the OPA and labor troubles are the only obstacles to full production. Robert Wason, new NAM president, favors taking off all price controls except those on rents.

There is plenty of evidence that a great majority of the people want price and rent controls continued until the dangers of inflation are passed. Public-opinion polls, letters to members of Congress, the OPA and the White House have been almost overwhelming. In

Potomacus is an office pseudonym, used in this case to guard the identity of an individual in peculiarly close contact with the problems and pressures centering in the Office of Price Administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

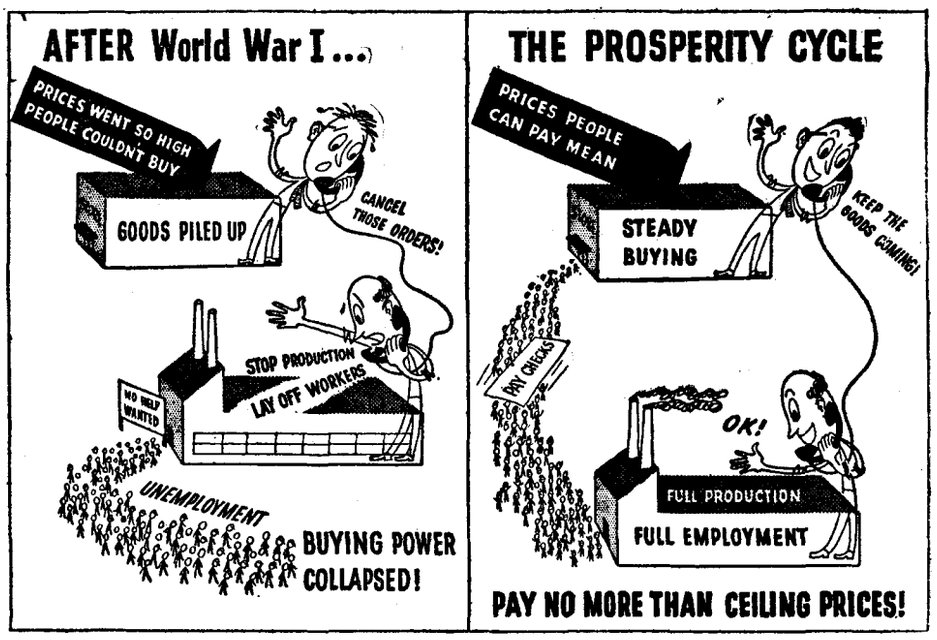
October, Gallup released the results of a survey showing that three out of four persons interviewed opposed immediate removal of all price controls. In Minnesota another poll disclosed that only seven percent favored immediate removal of controls, 39 percent thought they could be dropped gradually over twelve months, and 47 percent favored continuing them indefinitely. In Cincinnati in December, a radio commentator asked listeners to send in postcards, and 1,594 replied favoring price control to 89 opposed. A similar poll in Mansfield, Ohio, brought a postcard vote of 1,374 in favor of control and 56 opposed. A street-corner poll in St. Louis came out 6,647 to 1,041 in favor of rent control, and 6,797 to 891 for price control. In one week in December, OPA Administrator Chester Bowles received 458 letters on the subject, only eight of them critical of price-control continuance. Congressional mail shows the same trend. Representative Chase Going Woodhouse of Connecticut put in the *Congressional Record* recent statements by 16 leading national organizations of women, consumers and labor, and 22 leaders of local civic organizations of similar nature, emphasizing their support for holding the line on prices and rents.

THE INCREASES in inflationary pressures since V-J Day are well known and easily documented. The unemployed number three million or less, instead of the predicted six million. Payrolls have held up much better than expected. This reflects a very rapid rise in reconversion production (despite NAM claims that price controls put industry in a straitjacket). But it takes many months to fill the pipelines of production and distribution. Despite high employment, many mass-production industries cannot reach peak output until early summer. When the war ended, inventories of soft goods were at all-time lows and many durable goods had disappeared altogether. So high payrolls add to the pressures on prices now, although they point to a huge flood of goods later in the year.

Until January 1, producers held goods off the production lines and out of the markets in a strike for higher prices and to get the benefit of the ill advised repeal of the excess-profits tax. The estimated $145 billion accumulated in savings during the war still hangs over the market. The government's military expenditures and those for foreign relief total as much in this fiscal year as we spent on war during the whole of World War I. An enormously inflationary factor was the precipitate dropping, by President Truman, Snyder, Krug, et al., of practically all controls except those over prices and rents.

The OPA's experience since October with its policy of de-controlling prices at the drop of a bureaucrat is illuminating. Controls were dropped or suspended on hundreds of items considered insignificant in the cost of living, too difficult to administer, or in supply adequate to meet demand. Any Christmas shopper will tell you what happened to the prices of costume jewelry, and some of them could tell about fur coats. On one day, juke-boxes jumped from $250 to $500. Cocoanuts tripled in price overnight. Ceilings on citrus fruits were suspended in November as marketing started on the nation's largest crop in history. Despite the surplus, prices rose beyond the old ceilings and Midwestern newspapers clamored indignantly against 10-cent oranges. Citrus ceilings were reimposed early in January. The OPA had underestimated buying power and the way it leaps over from shortage areas to consume what would ordinarily be surpluses.

Bowles, practically alone among Truman's administrators, has recognized the mounting dangers and struck out hard at the selfish pressure groups and at the friends within the government of "just a little



The OPA Fights with Pictures

Chester Bowles, OPA Administrator, was formerly head of one of the largest, most successful advertising agencies in the United States. He has brought to his new job a realization of the value of the advertising man's technique in carrying the story of the danger of inflation to the country. With pictures like this one, which are scattered broadcast, he tries to point the moral in the simplest terms.

Drawing from the OPA, reproduced by permission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inflation." While others fiddled, he spoke to Congress through the Senate Small Business Committee, detailing the inflationary pressures and dangers. He won a campaign to get Snyder to reverse his laissez-faire policy on housing, obtaining reinstatement of priorities on materials for low and medium-priced homes. In so doing, he also forced Housing Coördinator Hugh Potter, representative of the vested real-estate interests, out of Snyder's office. Since last June he, and not Housing Administrator John Blandford, has been the people's spokesman for adequate housing at reasonable prices. He is pushing to the limit the OPA's powers to control rents and the prices of building materials. He was largely responsible for introducing the pending Patman bill for price control on old and new houses.

Recently Bowles took his life in his hands to try to block an extortionate steel-price increase which Truman and Snyder had promised to give the industry, and a butter-price hike of 12 to 18 cents a pound which Secretary Anderson wanted to foist on the public. Bowles probably deserves the laudatory cartoons showing him as the Dutch boy with his finger in the dike, but the fact is that one man and his loyal staff cannot hold out very long against the forces of inflation without greater public and congressional support.

DESPITE his rebuffs within the Administration and the heat that Congress is turning on him, Bowles is now disposed to stay on and fight it out, at least as long as he can be effective in holding the line against runaway inflation. This is a lot less than he and his liberal supporters can be contented with, of course. Though at present he appears powerless to stop creeping inflation, his departure would be an inflationary factor of major proportions. The stock market probably would bounce up as it did when Truman announced his intention of raising steel prices. Bowles is undoubtedly playing the part of a patriot in staying as long as he can do any effective work in holding down unjustified and politically inspired price increases. He can do as much or more than anyone else in his position, but it looks like a losing battle unless the White House and Congress come to their senses pretty fast.

President Truman will meet a favorable response to his request to Congress for extension of the Price Control Act for twelve months, as even the Republican leaders are willing to allow a six-months extension. But delay and killer amendments, both of which are certain to be pushed by the Republicans and Southern Democrats (if Bowles makes good his effort to stop their raising the price of cotton) threaten to nullify the Act and the OPA's efforts to hold the price line. In addition, sabotage efforts against adequate appropriations will be made behind the closed doors of the Appropriations Committee, as in previous years.

So it appears that the critical battle of the inflationary bulge will be fought between now and May. If decisive action is not taken within three months, the prospect of speculative price increases in July, when price control expires, will slow down the whole economy, force up prices and cut production dangerously. The battle is between the real enemies of inflation and a group of interests and their congressmen, clamoring for "price control, but—." They are the kind of folks Leon Henderson had in mind when he compared inflation to pregnancy—"You can't have just a little of it."

There are other disturbing angles, notably that of the fixed-income groups who suffer most in the "prosperous" times of inflationary price rises. Some government economists are guessing that the inflationary or prosperous period of expanding production will last from two to four years, after which, depending upon the degree of inflation, the soundness of production and the maintenance of buying power, a period of deflation or depression will follow. In any event the white-collar groups, annuity and soldier-allotment recipients, GI Bill of Rights beneficiaries, soldier students, disabled veterans, school teachers and recipients of pensions and old-age-retirement benefits will suffer more and more as prices mount. Wartime depreciation of quality and hidden price increases, over and above the 31-percent cost-of-living rise registered by the Bureau of Labor Statistics since 1939, already have cut their living standards dangerously. A lot of us are fooled by high-price-level "prosperity," but these people know that their incomes can never catch up with prices. They are hurt before the depression comes. The rest of us, with jobs and raises and profits galore, may not see ahead to the inevitable deflation. But it's just over the horizon for all of us, unless the nation acts promptly to control its own destiny and abandons the present confused pattern of thinking and inaction.

THE DEMOCRATS' biggest asset in the congressional elections of next November and the 1948 presidential race is the OPA's postwar performance—if the line is held on prices and rents. If the line is even bent badly, the Republicans will capitalize on it and coast into power on a wave of complaints. That's what the GOP is counting on, and it explains their campaign of passive resistance to controls and sympathy for the efforts of many industries to break the line in behalf of their own profits. The Republicans are looking down their noses and seeing no further on price control as well as on other domestic economic issues. How much longer Harding normalcy and its modern spokesmen, Wherry, Taft, et al., can keep the GOP alive on such negative issues is an interesting subject for speculation. But it is unfortunate for the country that these short-sighted gentlemen can continue in positions of power from which they can—and will—obstruct the efforts of the American people to attain such essential results as a stable price level, full employment and economic security.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Best Job in the World"

by Ralph G. Martin

INSIDE the Army Recruiting information room, a beardless young man wearing a yellow sweater and a pork-pie hat was staring at a huge poster. Splashed all over it were pictures of soldiers having fun in different parts of the world. Then, in big type, the message, "Enlist Now. . . . Vacation, Travel, Security, Education, Career, Good Pay, Liberal Retirement Benefits. . . . The Best Job in the World. . . ."

He kept looking at all this lingeringly, and then turned to examine the men waiting in line at the information desk. For a few minutes, he just stood there, hesitating. Then he walked quickly out of the room.

Sitting on the sidelines, watching everything wistfully, Felix Bezubek told how much he wanted to reenlist. "If I was single, I'd jump at it," he said. "I'd be right there on that line with those guys. Honest to God I would," he said, slapping his knee.

"And why not?" he went on. "You don't have to worry any more about somebody else's cousin taking your job and you know that your wife is going to get a pay check every month rain or shine, and no matter what you say, it's a good, healthy life."

He smiled weakly. "But my wife doesn't see it that way. She says she waited three years for me to get out of the Army and now she wants me to stay out. You can't really blame her. She was pretty lonely. But then I guess all women are like that."

He explained that he had just brought his nephew down to enlist. "Now if I was as young as he is. . . ."

At the information desk, the three long lines merged into one and soon disappeared. Sergeants Joseph Smith and George McCourt both took a five-minute break.

Things were picking up, said McCourt. They had been getting more than 400 a day for the past week. Mostly veterans and young guys. "They want to know all kinds of things," he continued. "One guy wants to know if he can go back to England right away because there's a girl there he wants to marry in a hurry. Some of the kids want to know if they'll be shipped straight to college or whether they can drill in the daytime and go home at night. I had one guy who wanted to enlist in the worst way. He had one big problem, though; he was still AWOL from the Marines. We had a jockey the other day, too. He said he was enlisting just to get away from horses for a while."

The phone rang and Smith grabbed it. First he listened, then he asked, "How old are you?" He listened again and then smiled tiredly over the phone, "Well, I'm sorry, Bud, but you'll have to get your parents' permission first."

"You get real funny ones over the phone sometimes," said Smith. "Like the one who called up to find out where he could enlist in the Navy. Then the one who asked if it made any difference how many kids he had. When I said no, he got all excited and said he was rushing right over. It turned out he had eight kids."

"That's nothing," McCourt continued. "We had one guy who had ten kids. Counting allowances and everything, he'll get about $90 a week from the Army, which is a helluva lot more than he got as a gas-station attendant. Besides all that, he's stationed in a Recruiting Office in Flatbush and he goes home every night. That, brother, is a sweet set-up."

Drawn for the New Republic *by Bernadine Custer*

A small Negro girl wearing glasses, her hair braided in long pigtails, walked timidly up to the desk and asked McCourt something in a low voice. McCourt said something and her eyes got big and frightened and then very slowly she turned and walked away.

"She wanted to join the Wacs," McCourt told us. "But they're not taking any more."

"We get a lot of women calling us up," Smith added. "Mothers call up to find out if their Willie was here. Then we have wives hunting for their husbands."

"I had one like that yesterday," McCourt went on. "She was really crying, too. Said that she was gonna have a kid and she didn't have anything to eat and no place to stay. I didn't know what the hell to say, so I told her to call the Red Cross."

Smith pointed to a woman sitting in the corner wiping her eyes. "She's been there all day. We get lots of them."

Two more lines had formed and McCourt and Smith went back to work. There was a short, sharply dressed man with a big cigar in his mouth who leaned over and asked, confidentially, "Say, chief, what's the latest inducement you got for officers?" The next one wanted to know if he could learn how to be a photog-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rapher in the Army. The third, who looked slightly bewildered, simply wanted to know, "Can you please tell me where in the hell Pier A is?"

One kid silently handed over his application blank. McCourt scanned it in a hurry and said, "Where's your father's signature?" The kid blushed, then blurted out, "My Pop's in jail."

All those with completed applications moved into the back room, where they sat down on one of the long wooden benches. A few were reading newspapers or talking in low voices, but most of them just sat there, glumly.

"Why am I reënlisting? What do you think?" exploded Larry Gilchrist, who was still wearing his uniform and Pacific Theatre ribbon. "Because I can't eat promises, and because my wife can't and my kids can't, that's why. I've tried this civilian life for three months now and you can have it. When you've got a family, you need a job that pays enough for you all to live on. And I couldn't find it, that's all."

Several seats away a young recruit was asking questions of a veteran who was wearing civilian trousers and an officer's blouse. He had been an MP lieutenant in Germany with the 83rd Division. Once upon a time before that he had been manager of a restaurant in a food chain. When he went back there, he saw a line of job applicants two blocks long.

"Besides, I wouldn't want to work for that food chain any more anyway," he finished. "They put too much chicory in their coffee." He tried to smile.

His young listener with the thin face was John O'Neill. A returning veteran had taken over his job, he said. That was OK with him, but there was nowhere else to go; it was the same all over. That left the young guys just sticking out in the middle of nowhere with no future. He couldn't afford to go to college and he had to support his mother, so he figured the Army was the best bet. "If a guy isn't a first-class jerk, he can learn a lot of things in the Army. And I'm not exactly an old man yet. I'm 17."

A BIG, HEAVY NEGRO came into the room, looked around for a seat and finally sat down next to two Puerto Ricans. He was 39-year-old William Blackwell, he said, and if he couldn't be a mechanic in civilian life, then he'd be one in the Army. "Because I'd feel kinda wasted, starting all over again as a $25-a-week porter." He had tried hard to get a mechanic's job. "But you know, we're the first ones fired, the last ones hired," he told them, almost as if he were reciting it.

The two Puerto Ricans listened without saying anything. One of them was Rafael Figueroa and he spoke so softly you could hardly hear him. He had come to New York from a tiny place called Cayey and his cousin had found him a job making cushions in a factory. Then he went into the Army for four years and he had been discharged just a few months ago.

"But I don't get used to civilian life," he said. "I go back to cushion factory and all people different, everything different. So I come back to Army now. Besides, I no like to make cushions any more."

His friend, who had bright white teeth and a lively smile, put in that he was joining up mainly because he wanted to be shipped back to Puerto Rico where his family was. "I have lots girl friends there too," he said, winking. "Maybe some of them married, but maybe some still around waiting, huh?" He started laughing.

Drawn for the New Republic *by Bernadine Custer*

A sergeant called out a long list of men for fingerprinting and almost everybody in the room lined up. Across the hall, another group, already partially processed, was waiting for the next step.

James Pegram said he used to be with the 870th AAA Battalion on Okinawa. "Hell, I remember when I was sweating out discharge. All I wanted was to get away from the brass hats and the red tape and the regimentation and the chicken and be a civilian again."

He paused. "So now I'm a civilian. So what. I used to think the discharge button would mean something, but it don't mean a damn thing. Everybody's got one. There's lots of places where you can buy a button for a buck and nobody asks any questions. I couldn't find a job, couldn't find a place to live—what's the good of that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

button? So now I'm thinking that maybe the Army wasn't so bad after all."

Several benches away, a bald-headed warrant officer was very happy about the whole thing. He had 27 years, nine months and four days of Army service and now he was going back to get the rest of it. If he was 30 years younger, he would do the same thing all over again, he said. His job in the Army? He was an assistant band leader. As soon as he was retired he planned to start a small music school. He had already bought a little home with his savings. "Yes, sir," he said, smiling, "you do your job in the Army and you get along very nicely."

Some corporal came through the room and announced that there would be a 30-minute break for lunch and the mess hall was just down the street. The rooms quickly emptied.

Only a few still stayed where they were. There was a tall, husky young man wearing a big-checked wool shirt who said he was Whitman Snyder of East Islip, Long Island, and he was just 17. He was joining the Army to see the world. Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Africa, all those places. "Look how old I am, and yet I've never been outside of New York City."

No, his mother didn't like the idea too much, but you know how mothers are, he said. Anyway, she finally gave in. Yeah, maybe he was just a little bit scared, but don't worry about him, he'd be OK.

One of the men getting ready to leave wore a merchant-marine uniform. He was ruddy-faced, blond, heavy-set, with deep circles under his eyes. He was Tom Curtis, from Boston.

"Do you really want to know why I'm enlisting?" he began bitterly. "Do you want the real God's honest truth? Well, I'm enlisting because I want a place to sleep. I'm tired of sleeping on the benches at Penn Station. I've been sleeping there for three weeks, and I'm tired of it, do you understand?"

He was standing and he sat down again. "I'm tired of the dirty looks they gave me at the Pepsi-Cola canteen just because I'm in the merchant marine. I'm tired of not having enough money to eat a full meal and I'm just goddam tired of everything, that's all."

He didn't want to ask his folks for money because he felt he was old enough to take care of himself now. Sometimes he worked part-time as a bus boy for $3 a day. Then he'd try to get a bed at the Seaman's Club, but they were always full. For a while, he slept in the cocktail lounge of the Hotel Pennsylvania until an assistant manager found him and kicked him out.

The worst thing about sleeping on the Penn Station bench was that you had to sleep with your shoes on, he said. Then at four in the morning, the Penn cops would come around and wake you up to ask if you were waiting for a train. And you couldn't lie to them, because then they asked to see your ticket. The only thing to do was to move out until they left and then come back and sleep until 6:30, when the next shift came around. "They all know me now," he added.

Drawn for the New Republic *by Bernadine Custer*

"And that's my why's and wherefore's. I'm joining the Army because I forgot what it's like to sleep in a bed and because I want to get three squares a day, every day." He was 18 years old.

Through the door was the last big room, where a score of typists were interviewing the soldiers, pounding out the final records.

"Sure, it's interesting," said Mildred Bayarsky. "Every guy is something different. I must say that some of them are fresh and impolite, but most of them are just bewildered. Some of them won't talk unless you ask them questions, and others will just talk your arm off all day long if you let them."

She told how some of them poured out their most personal problems, all about their love life and how their wives ran away or their sweethearts married another guy.

"I'll tell you," she went on. "Some of them are so nervous and their hands shake so much that they can't sign their own names. I have to promise that I won't look at them while they sign it. And some of them are so young—"

Partitioned off from the big typing room was a smaller room with an American flag standing in the corner. The lieutenant was bent over rapidly signing his name to a big batch of applications which he then handed to a sergeant. You could hear the sergeant calling out the names over the steady noise of the typewriters. Then they filed in. Some veterans in mixed uniforms, some scared-looking youngsters, two veterans in full uniform with all their ribbons and their shoes smartly polished.

The lieutenant asked for final questions, but there were none, and then in a high-pitched voice he said, "Raise your right hand and repeat after me . . ."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Notes

Democrats Have to Be Progressive

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN is not Franklin Roosevelt, but he's the only President we have. His program is liberal, his social legislation far-reaching, and he has impressed upon the masses of people the feeling that he is honest and sincere, whatever may be said about his effectiveness. Mr. Truman is liberal for two reasons: first, at heart he is a progressive; second, he and the hard-boiled politicians around him, represented by Postmaster General Hannegan, are convinced that the hope of his Administration is on the liberal side.

It is true that the Democratic Party is split into divergent camps, one of which is the Southern conservatives. But the latter's relationship to the party can be put pretty simply. The Southern wing, by itself, can't carry a national election. On the other hand a Democratic candidate can—and has—won enough electoral votes to be elected without the South. Two points should be remembered in this respect. First, as a new Gallup Poll has just shown, the big-city vote is still the backbone of the party. The 13 largest American cities having a population of half a million or more, were, and are, Democratic by a ratio of 60 to 40. The city vote is liberal and Truman has got to remain liberal to get it. Second, though the Southern Democrats may bolt Truman's liberalism and defy his program, they can't carry their states with them in an election showdown. The Southern rank and file will stay in the Democratic Party; more than that, if there were reasonable democracy in the Southern states they would bounce out their own representatives. (Who can say, for example, that Senator Ellender is "representative" when he argues that his own constituents should not receive the benefits of a 65-cent minimum-wage law?)

President Truman is a liberal, then, from conviction and political interest. Now he approaches a congressional election. Apparently increasingly aware of the need of liberal-labor support, Mr. Hannegan is making a positive effort to reverse the exodus of New Dealers from the Administration. It appears that he is acting on orders from Mr. Truman. It is known that Mr. Truman stressed the argument in bringing able young Wilson Wyatt to the thankless job of housing expediter. Hannegan is trying to persuade Robert Nathan, who couldn't stand Snyder, to come back to the government as White House assistant, and has offered 30-year-old Edward F. Pritchard, Frankfurter protégé, who also recently left government service, the job of general counsel to the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Hannegan is trying to build up a team, under National Committee auspices, to work for Truman's liberal legislation, a bill at a time, in Congress. There is Paul Porter, chairman of the FCC, Gael Sullivan, second assistant postmaster general, Josiah E. Dubois, assistant to Secretary Vinson, and many others.

This is all well and good. But here the curious dualism of the Truman Administration appears. Mr. Truman has another set of cronies, the Missouri group, who came to office early as personal friends. They weren't picked on ideological grounds. Some are liberals; most aren't. Out of some 70 key Truman appointees there are 10 Missourians and one Mississippian: Mr. Hannegan himself; Reconversion Director Snyder; Stabilization Director Collet; Surplus Property Administrator Symington; Brigadier General Vaughan, military aide; Commodore Vardaman, naval aide; Charles G. Ross, press aide; General Bradley, Veterans' Administrator; Chester Davis, OWMR advisory-board member; Appeals Court Justice Bennett Clark. The Mississippian is George Allen, White House confidant, just named to head the RFC.

The strangeness of the situation is the contrast between these two groups, symbolic perhaps of Mr. Truman's own difficulties. Mr. Truman can't create an effective New Deal brain trust when reconversion is in the hands of John Snyder. While he is trying to get an oil-man-politician like Ed Pauley confirmed, he is in danger of losing Chester Bowles. The Truman Administration suffers from a paucity of liberal lieutenants right at the top. This is its most glaring weakness; the disease is ideological anemia. As a practical politician, Mr. Hannegan instinctively knows that what his party most needs in the fall election is a record to point to; he sees the Truman liberal program blocked in Congress and he is trying to organize a rescue squad to remove the obstructions. But support of this sort requires first of all a mental climate at the top in which it can flourish.

Notes.—All Britain has been agog over the U. S. loan agreement; dozens of British journalists rushed to Washington to "cover" the congressional debates. They were amazed to discover little in the papers about it, little prospect of loan action before summer, although Mr. Truman thrice used the word "prompt" in his message. . . . The Senate won't pass any drastic anti-labor bill, no matter what the House does; a relatively mild measure stressing voluntary mediation, arbitration and fact-finding is about as far as the Senate will go at present. . . . Growing demand for civilian control of the atomic bomb springs from behind-the-scenes feeling that General Groves exercises too great authority; at a Cabinet meeting recently it developed that not even Secretary of War Patterson knew the secret of where the earth-shaking bombs were being stored. . . . Italy's food crisis is desperate; latest UNRRA grain shipments have fallen 50,000 tons below the minimum of 300,000 necessary to prevent starvation; riots are expected, and if the crisis continues, the fall of the democratic Premier is likely. . . . What American journalism could do, and generally doesn't, is illustrated by the careful, documented, unremitting campaign of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, through its able correspondent Edward A. Harris, to publicize the tidelands-oil grab, ultimately involving confirmation of Ed Pauley. . . . The Federal Trade Commission can head off a monopoly achieved by one corporation buying another's capital stock, but not one achieved by buying its competitor's plant, equipment, patents, good will and the like; every FTC annual report since 1930 has hopefully asked Congress to plug this glaring loophole, and this latest one does, too.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Majestic; the Royale

The Mayor of Zalamea, Edward FitzGerald's translation of the Calderon play. Majestic Theatre, January 27, 1946. The Magnificent Yankee, by Emmet Lavery. Royale Theatre, January 22, 1946.

THE SCHEME for the Readers' Theatre has no small interest and promise to it, so that a few facts should be of use. The general design is to bring to playgoers, and to players, too—the second is to my mind of far greater importance to the prosperity of our theatre—a chance to renew their knowledge of, and in many cases, of course, to make the acquaintance of, some of the great classics of the theatre whose production is likely to be impossible for various reasons.

These reasons are partly known to everyone. The expense of production on Broadway is obviously one, an expense that at present grows higher and higher. The lack of enough public interest to ensure any considerable number of performances is in many cases another. And it may as well be said that the lack of trained actors, in voice, movement and most of the other elements that make up the art of acting, is another. And the same goes for directors: the director's art, about which we heard so much some years back, has sunk with the rest of the theatre until it would be hard to find a director on Broadway who could train actors in reading anything outside the most ordinary theatre prose, much less in any variety of styles, or any style in fact except the loose, inexpert, personal sort of realism, or realism of sorts, that we usually get. It is something, then, to be able to hear various great dramatic works read in a theatre and with some degree of professional projection. It is useful, too, to be reminded that healthy dramatic writing is meant to be spoken, or should be speakable.

Absence from town prevented my hearing the first program, which was Yeats's version of Sophocles' "Oedipus King," with Miss Blanche Yurka, Mr. Frederic Tozere and Mr. Henry Irvine in the leading parts. The second play given was Calderon's "The Mayor of Zalamea," in the translation of Edward FitzGerald. FitzGerald's touch and familiar approach to his original are most evident; you have only to compare it with Shelley's translation of the scenes from "The Magico Prodigioso" to perceive what a difference there may be in the rendering of this lyric and complex Spanish dramatist. Even as it stood in the FitzGerald version, the reading by the company at the Majestic—especially Miss Ellen Andrews in the beautiful role of Isabel—could have gone in for a more lyric or eloquent style and intensity.

The various parts were taken by Miss Andrews, Mr. Herbert Berghof, Miss Amelia Romano, Mr. Robert Gardet and others. Mr. Eugene O'Neill Jr. served as Narrator.

Such an enterprise and novelty as this of the Readers' Theatre has, of course, to figure out numerous problems of method. In general I would suggest that more acting be sought for, instead of so much mere reading, as is often the case at present. A director with the notable experience that Mr. James Light, of the old Provincetown Theatre days, has had, could bring the whole occasion into more or less the acting terms that in the regular theatre are approximately ready for the dress rehearsal. This end would be forwarded if the actors learned, or pretty much learned, their lines, using the script largely as a stage property. Something in this direction will be most important in the career of this admirable enterprise.

The new play about the late Justice Holmes begins with his arrival in Washington to assume his new position and settle into his new house, in December, 1902, in the reign of the first Roosevelt, and ends with the call paid on the old liberal, now retired from the bench, by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, March 4, 1933. The roles of Justice Holmes and Mrs. Holmes are competently and agreeably played by Mr. Louis Calhern and Miss Dorothy Gish, and in this instance that is saying a great deal any way you take it.

The causes that Justice Holmes—Mr. Calhern is on the stage very nearly all the time—is seen to champion and the judgments from which he dissented play but a modest part in the story; they serve to give a fillip of the intellectual and various hints of moments that made history. Divers figures like Mr. Justice Brandeis and Owen Wister and Henry Adams come in and out with small violence to the main theme; and the same may be said for the young Law School men that served as secretaries, a year each and not to get married during that time. The central theme of the play is the relation between the husband and wife, and the firm manner in which Mrs. Holmes rules him, always wisely, is devoted to him, directs his life, etc., etc. This matriarchal motif is ever more popular in our theatre. Audiences where, as in ours, women predominate and so many of the men have a Mrs. Holmes of their own one way or another, apparently find this motif both acceptable and entertaining. The audience's response to "The Magnificent Yankee," for example, was full of bravos. On an irreverent basis, the general theme involved may be said to be that of Miss Ruth Draper's picture of the lady admonishing her little girl: "Mother knows what's funny." It is a theme, however, that evidently appeals to the sweet tooth. If history does not always appear to bear out this great American doctrine, we must remember that history was written by men. If Mrs. Thucydides or one of Gibbon's aunts had done the writing, history might be different.

Mr. Woodman Thompson has provided an excellent setting and costumes for the play. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

America "had better keep on friendly terms with Spain," because in the event of war with Russia, "toward which our policy of appeasement is surely heading us," Spain would be "the only beachhead in Europe that could be won without great cost in human life," Reverend Louis J. Twomey, S. J., of the St. Louis University Institute of Social Studies, told a luncheon meeting of the Coöperative Club at Hotel Statler yesterday. – *From the St Louis* Globe-Democrat.

Bill Osmanski, former Holy Cross and Chicago Bears star, ran and kicked his "Nishahaya Tigers" to a 14-to-13 victory over Angelo Bertelli's "Bears" in the first "Atom Bowl" football game here today. – *UP dispatch from Nagasaki.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What Say Let's Be Buddies?

The two alumni decided that the differences of the past few years should be put aside, and that a meeting of Harvard men in Tokyo could, unofficially, be one of good will and understanding. – *Meeting of U. S. Army lieutenant and the managing director of the Nippon Steel Tube Company, as described in the* Harvard Alumni Bulletin.

Messrs. Facing-Both-Ways

In a 1,200-word statement, the regents of the University of California buttressed their resolution with a reaffirmation of a position previously announced three times. One provides for discipline of persons using university insignia without authority, one states the regents' opposition to membership in the Communist Party of America by members of its faculties or administration, and one reaffirms the doctrine of academic freedom. – *From the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Free Enterprise

Two weeks ago the Tokyo Brothel Keepers' Association decided to release the girls from slavery-status contracts and permit them "the democratic right" of going into business independently. – *AP dispatch from Tokyo.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Race Amity Overseas

SIR: Noting in your issue of January 7 the letter from the Philippines which you caption "Race Hatred Overseas," I am prompted to offset it in some degree with a passage from a letter by a private in the Islands who has just newly enlisted there:

> The camp here is interesting in one respect as there is no segregation as regards colored troops; we share the same tents and mess-hall and it is wonderful to see how it works. After the first few days the situation was accepted by everyone, even Southerners, as perfectly natural. We get along well together and I only wish this system had been used throughout the war in all branches of the Army. It would have done a lot to destroy our race problem.

Santa Fe, N. M. WITTER BYNNER

What You Can Do about Bilbo

SIR: Those Americans whose blood boils while Bilbo filibusters, whose ire rises while McKellar presides, recognizing only poll-tax Senators who have heard the word of George and Byrd, must feel the need to act.

These poll-tax products of minority votes block democracy for the entire country in their cunning attack on majority rule. The whole world pays the price demanded by these ignorant advocates of the master race, but they can be eliminated only by Southern votes.

There are millions of progressive Southerners who share with you a desire for a democratic world. They are fighting today under the banner of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. They are opposed by reactionaries in the South who get generous financial help from the North. Those progressive Northerners who want to act should send contributions to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 212½ Union Street, Nashville, Tennessee.

New York City CLARK FOREMAN

The AVC Is Progressive

SIR: In the *New Republic* of February 4, Leo Johnson set forth the program of the Veterans' League of America, claiming that is was "the only anti-totalitarian (whether fascist or communist), pro-labor and anti-discrimination veterans' organization in being" I should like to point out for the record that the American Veterans' Committee is another group which falls into this category; and that the AVC supports the principles enumerated by Mr. Johnson. The address of the AVC is 554 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

CHARLES G. BOLTE, Chairman,
New York City American Veterans' Committee

On Dr. Wertham

SIR: A word of appreciation for the review-article by Frederic Wertham, "Super-Ego and Surplus Value" (the *New Republic*, January 28). It is one of those pieces which, without the evasions of slogans, remind one again that it is still possible for clear intelligence to bring itself to bear on a difficult subject and open it to the hopeful light of day. I am not well enough acquainted with psychoanalysis to evaluate Wertham's criticisms professionally, but I know that the method of his mind as shown in this article is the most fruitful of all. It is most concerned with what, after all, is the problem of our time in the arts as well—how to evaluate the individual, including that part of him that lives beyond his fingertips. It is at that point, really, that mysticism begins. And it is there—the point of contact between man and the world—that Wertham has caught the crux of our general weakness, as citizens, as scientists, as artists. His method, his direction, is toward that kind of total responsibility which requires the highest genius to adopt, but the reward is the total truth.

I hope for more by Wertham in the future, and thanks again.

Brooklyn, N. Y. ARTHUR MILLER

[We refer Mr. Miller and other readers who may have missed Dr. Wertham's extended discussion of recent books on psychoanalysis, to his articles in the *New Republic* of October 22 and 29. – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

The *New Republic* has received a letter from an American relief worker in Java enclosing a letter from the head of the foreign-affairs section of the Information Department of the Indonesian Republic. The writer points out that the basis of the revolt in Indonesia is the same body of principles for which the United States has stood. The Indonesian Nationalist movement has suffered under three and a half years of Japanese domination, he writes, and these years have made the Indonesians resolve not to submit to further domination. The victors have not, he remarks, forced unwanted exiled regimes on the liberated countries of Europe. And he appeals to the United States to see that the UNO intervenes to stop the fighting and work out a solution consistent with the promises of the Atlantic Charter.

An Army doctor on Guam writes us to protest the "wanton hoarding of medical personnel [by the Army] out of all proportion to present or any anticipated need." He points to the shortage of doctors in civilian practice and in Army hospitals at home and claims that there is so little work for medical personnel overseas that their professional skills may become impaired. (Since he wrote, the points required for discharge of medical personnel have been reduced.)

Our New York readers may be interested to learn of a conference sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy on "Labor, Progressives and the Atomic Age." It will be held Friday and Saturday, February 8 and 9, at the Hotel Commodore. Reservations must be made at the League, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 10, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

New Beginning

IN 1920 the *New Republic* published a special issue, written by two of its editors, Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz, exposing the malicious and false accounts of the Russian Revolution in the American press. This exposé, perhaps the most important single contribution of the *New Republic* to the creation of a better world order, played a principal part in the decision of the New York *Times* to send Walter Duranty to Moscow, where he became the first correspondent of a major American newspaper to file dispatches which bore more than a purely coincidental resemblance to Soviet realities.

Quite apart from the prejudices and predilections of subsequent critics, whether friendly or hostile, after almost thirty years it is clear that they have failed to translate Soviet reality into a vocabulary that makes sense to Western ears. Liberals and conservatives alike, even when they were on the whole sympathetic, applied the symbols and ideals of Western constitutionalism, which were semantically irrelevant. The Communists and their fellow travelers, on the other hand, uncritically swallowing and echoing the official Soviet propaganda line, could never explain the Soviet situation to a mass audience that was totally unprepared to understand their clichés and stereotypes.

It is into this terminological lacuna that Frederick L. Schuman steps with a semantic apparatus which will make his new volume[1] a fresh beginning in Soviet-Western understanding. A brilliant recapitulation of well known as well as less well known facts concerning the Soviet Union, Professor Schuman's volume is distinguished above all by his new approach to a story which, even in its duller aspects, is incomparably the most dramatic of our time.

Schuman is an old hand at Russian affairs. In 1928 he published his *American Policy Toward Russia Since 1917*. An important contribution, it followed largely the traditional historical approach of political scientists. But in 1933, Schuman startled the academic world with his *International Politics*. Arriving almost simultaneously with Hitler's usurpation of power, this classic broke down the artificial, if not harmful, distinction between over-simplified "textbooks" and scholarly "treatises," and opened new vistas to a generation of young students. Schuman was, at the time, a member of a group of splendid scholars at the University of Chicago who rallied around Charles Edward Merriam, to whom the present volume is dedicated. The group included Harold D. Lasswell (political psychology), Harold F. Gosnell (political process), T. V. Smith (political ethics) and Leonard D. White (administration). Profiting from their and their mentor's contributions, which since the twenties have revolutionized the study of politics and which he generously acknowledged, Schuman in *International Politics* related the study of international relations to that of individual and mass psychopathology, the structure of elites and counter-elites, the function of skill, the symbols and techniques of power, the economics of plenty and scarcity, in addition to the traditional history of diplomacy and international law. Cutting through rigid departmentalization, Schuman brought all the relevant data and methods of inquiry to the study of politics. Above all, he transformed the examination of international relations from a science of curative politics into a science of *preventive* politics. In the following years he continued this approach in *The Nazi Dictatorship* (1935), a study in social pathology, in *Europe on the Eve* (1939) and *Night Over Europe* (1941).

In the inspired preface to his new book Schuman states his hopes and fears, defines his position and erects a monument of faith. "The incapacity," he writes, "of Western mankind to make a rational adjustment, after the lapse of three decades, to the world-shaking impact of the Russian Revolution augurs ill for a rational adjustment to the world-shaking impact of atomic power." Lack of understanding has been due, he charges, "to the suspicion and secretiveness of the rulers of the 'socialist sixth of the world' and to the ignorance, panic and rage with which many among the Western peoples have been led to view the USSR."

Schuman's own faith, that of the progressive liberal, is grounded in the conviction that "the good society is one in which a maximum measure of personal liberty and representative democracy is combined with a maximum diffusion of private enterprise and ownership of property." Unless the best of the Western and Soviet worlds "can be brought together in a new synthesis, One World will be irreparably shattered and all hopes of liberalism will wither and perish." But the initial difficulties of peace-making "are no occasion for despair if a politically effective majority of Americans, Britishers and Russians perceive that the rebirth or death of contemporary world civilization depends almost exclusively upon the unity or disunity of the Super-Powers."

Words flow easily from Professor Schuman's pen, and there is certainly no other book on the Soviet Union which, whatever its length, excels his 600 pages in readability and sustained interest. Neither are there many books which equal his in richness of material. Before the reader's eye Schuman unfolds the drama of the Soviet Revolution, the Allied intervention, the Red Terror, the superhuman efforts to bring order out of chaos through the New Economic Policy of the twenties and the industrialization of the thirties, the birth, decline and death of the Communist International, the betrayal of Munich, the Soviet-Nazi Pact, the dreary days before Stalingrad and the victorious march to Berlin. Without being bound by historical chronology, Schuman delves deep into the Russian past and the genesis of Marxist ideology.

While a good deal of this is known to the intimate student of Russia and Marxism, there is much he can learn from Schuman's analysis. Calling attention to the non-proletarian social origin of Marxist verbalizers and organ-

[1] Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad, by Frederick L. Schuman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 663 pages. $4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

izers, many of them sons of fathers possessed of independent incomes or remunerative professional skills, he explains their adherence to the socialist cause in terms of the transference of private father-hatred to public objects. The close connection between the Communist-Socialist ideology and the liberal heritage of bourgeois democracy, egalitarianism and humanism, he finds, is related to the social origin of the Marxist elite. There was nothing intrinsically totalitarian and dictatorial in the original Bolshevik approach to the question of power. While the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was taken for granted, within that class dictatorship power was to be shared by all the parties of the Left, including the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. Historical accident rather than a deliberate program gradually made the Bolsheviks exclusive power-holders. The transformation came in the wake of the foreign intervention launched against the Revolution from all sides by the Western powers, which so largely determined, and still determines, Russia's distrust of the West. On the other hand, there was the internal opposition to the Revolution and the inability of the other leftist parties to cope effectively with the problems of domestic revolution and foreign war.

The Bolshevik party itself was never so highly disciplined and single-minded as later advertised by friends and foes alike. After the Revolution of 1905, Lenin and Trotsky clashed bitterly on party issues. Lenin called Trotsky a "Judas" and wrote that he "behaves like the most despicable careerist and factionalist." In 1912 Lenin denounced Trotsky as a "poser" and "phrase-maker," while the latter condemned Lenin for his "sectarian spirit, individualism of the intellectual, and ideological fetishism." As late as April 21, 1917, Kamenev declared in *Pravda* that "as regards Comrade Lenin's general line, it appears to us unacceptable inasmuch as it proceeds from the assumption that the bourgeois-democratic revolution has been completed." Later in 1917, Lenin's demand for a one-party government as against a broad leftist coalition was resisted by ten Bolshevik members of the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars, who resigned in protest. In February, 1918, when the matter of war or peace was debated, 15 leading Bolsheviks sided with Lenin in favor of accepting the German terms, 16 supported Trotsky's formula of "no war, no peace," and a majority of 32 favored revolutionary resistance.

Schuman exposes the myth-makers who alternately elevate Stalin or Trotsky to the Olympian position of Lenin's "heir." While Lenin's own rejection of Stalin as General Secretary of the Communist Party is a matter of record—he considered him too rude, too impatient, too capricious, too impolite—he did not endorse Trotsky by any means, characterizing him as too vain and overconfident. Bringing a formidable apparatus of psychoanalytical concepts to his study of the three leaders, Schuman explains Trotsky's thirst for domination and resentment of rivals in terms of his repressed insecurities and contradictions. In his response to Lenin as a father-image, love predominated over hatred in critical situations, while in response to Stalin, when the latter emerged as the new father-image, hatred exceeded love. He suffered a physical and spiritual decline, perceived himself as the victim of a plot and developed delusions of grandeur. Lenin, on the other hand, like Bonaparte, Lincoln or Roosevelt, is described as one of those rare intellectuals without neuroses who constitute the small group of political geniuses. And Stalin, neither an intellectual nor a neurotic, is above all an executive and "machine politician," comparable to the American "political boss."

Believing that Stalin's line, on the basis of evidence, was the only realistic one, Schuman rejects the thesis, held by disillusioned ex-Communists, Trotskyites, Socialists, fascists and anti-Soviet liberals, that Stalin had "betrayed" the Revolution, made himself a "Bonaparte" of "Thermidorian" reaction, and had become a personal despot and a moral monster. After careful examination of all the evidence connected with the purges, Schuman concludes that "the portrait of conspiracy spread on the Soviet court record appears . . . to be closer to reality than any alternative explanation." Stalin's opponents became ever more muddled, desperate and self-defeating as the years went by. They gradually recognized, contrary to their expectations, that the Five Year Plans were a success. They had to admit the essential correctness of Stalin's analysis of the international situation, the falseness of their own analysis and the fatal implications of their plans. Their final confessions, Schuman explains, resulted from "a subjective necessity of redeeming themselves in their own eyes by serving anew, even in disgrace and in the face of death, the cause they had served all their lives."

No review can do adequate justice to a book so wide in scope, so keen in analysis and so fearless in criticism as Professor Schuman's. As to the first, there are new data on Soviet constitutionalism and federalism, the evolution of the Communist Party, election procedures, the problem of liberty, the composition of the elite, the economics of peace and war, the status of religion, the new Soviet patriotism.

"As absorbing as any novel of Chinese life."
—Saturday Review

A Chinese Village

By MARTIN C. YANG

This engaging study of a typical agricultural village by a distinguished sociologist is "...probably one of the most interesting publications of the decade... To read it thoroughly is to know China better than any American has ever yet learned to know it through the printed page."—*Saturday Review*

At all bookstores • $3.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS, NEW YORK 27

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As to the second, here are several of his working concepts:

Class war is a helpful clue to social and political dynamics in periods of crises, though even in such epochs people are as often moved to public action by the symbols of nation, race or creed as by those of class.

In diplomacy, hypocrisy is sometimes necessary, although never edifying, and may even be useful in securing approval of a well conceived policy whose actual purposes cannot be publicly acknowledged.

Viewed in the long perspective of man's devices for the management of men, the cause of liberty has sometimes been served by dictatorship—but only when dictators resist the temptation to become despots and unselfishly serve democratic purposes in times of trouble or of dynamic new departures in social engineering.

The manifold symbols, habits and practices through which rulers command obedience from the ruled make up the ancient and ubiquitous institution of the State, with its variable *credenda*, *miranda* and *horrenda* and its constant claim to a monopoly of force and to universal authority over all within its territorial confines.

In the Soviet Union as elsewhere, political practices deeply imbedded in the habits of rulers and ruled change less rapidly than the texture of social living and the activities by which men and women earn their daily bread. Political vocabularies, with their sacred stereotypes and highly emotionalized symbols and slogans, are modified even more slowly.

The unemotional and objective application of these and numerous other working tools of social science does not cause Schuman to accept the Soviet reality uncritically. The fruits of socialism, he writes, "have been bought at a price which few citizens of the Atlantic democracies would be prepared to pay." The first Soviet war against Finland, whatever judgment may be passed on the goals of Soviet policy, was "lawless, stupid, costly and dangerous" in regard to the means employed, and represents "the most striking instance in Soviet diplomacy where action was based upon misinformation and a tragic miscalculation of probable results." What American Communist would admit this truth, or that the "growing distinctions in income and deference between elite and mass in the armed services were paralleled by increasing differentials in wages and salaries in Soviet economy?" For Schuman, of course, these and other developments which deviate from the premises, stereotypes and self-deceptions of the fanciful or disillusioned are neither enigmatic, amoral nor treacherous. They are part and parcel of the political process.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Schuman should come to the conclusion that "the Soviet Union's gravest problem during the decades ahead will be the future of capitalism." While he seems convinced that the Soviet Union will gradually evolve a system of political liberty approximating that of the West, the capitalist democracies must gradually put an end to the blatant inequalities of wealth now existing, and find a path to full employment: "Victory in this most difficult and decisive of all battles will promote a global synthesis of all that is conducive to freedom and creative of abundance in both the USSR and the Atlantic societies. It will thereby lay the necessary foundations for the World State of the coming time."

Last but not least, the publishers of this giant volume are to be congratulated for making it available at the relatively low price of four dollars.

HEINZ EULAU

Both Sides of the Street

The Street, by Ann Petry. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 436 pages. $2.50.

IN THIS FIRST NOVEL by Ann Petry, a gifted young Negro writer, one sees plainly that it is quite possible to write about what many critics have branded as stereotypes, yet by a feeling of inner warmth and understanding make them come alive so sharply and clearly that they seem, instead, the common denominator of all mankind. It is only where, because of the mechanics of her plot, Mrs. Petry has set up characters for whom she has no deep sympathy, or real hatred, that she occasionally falls into the usual trap.

The Street tells the story of Lutie Johnson, who tried unsuccessfully to make a normal life for herself and her young son Bub after she moved into a grubby little apartment on Harlem's 116th Street. Lutie, light-brown and luscious, had been a maid during the depression when Joe, her husband, had been without work; but taking a job in Connecticut while he remained in Harlem had meant that she lost him to another woman. Now, after a business course and a crack at the civil-service examinations, she has a precarious position as a white-collar worker while awaiting the security of a city job. After living with Pop, who had a succession of women after his wife died, and Granny, who was steeped in bitterness, this grimy little apartment seemed the key to a new and better life; yet at the same time the street ouside seemed a menace. First there was Jones, the super, who wanted her, and the one bulwark against that ever present danger, Mrs. Hedges, the madam

For New Republic Readers!

THE ART OF

PLAIN TALK

by RUDOLF FLESCH

Do you write or read reports? issue public-relations releases? or otherwise offer ideas for public acceptance? Here is aid to helping you put simple power and crystal clarity into your messages. Here is a plea for plain talk, a description of what plain talk means and a guide to simplifying one's style of writing that will appeal to all. "With wit and good humor Dr. Flesch follows his own writing rules . . . thoroughly readable and interesting." —*Tide.* $2.50

PRODUCTIVE THINKING

by MAX WERTHEIMER

Late Professor of Psychology, The New School for Social Research

What occurs when thinking really works productively? What is really going on in such a process? A brilliant psychologist here presents the results of his teaching and research as to the nature and process of productive thinking and how this process can be forwarded. "Wertheimer has contributed more than any other writer to the psychology of human thought processes. His posthumous volume will become one of the classics in the field."—GORDON ALLPORT, *Dept. of Psychology, Harvard University.* $3.00

HARPER & BROTHERS, 49 E. 33rd St., New York 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the ground floor who ran a nice, quiet little house, and said the trouble with Jones was that he was "cellar-crazy." Then there was the neighborhood and its relationship to Bub, who was in school until three, but then on the street until she returned from her job at night. Later there was Boots Smith, an orchestra leader who heard her singing to herself in Mr. Junto's Bar and Grill and asked her to join his band, though she knew there were strings attached to his proposition. And finally there was Mr. Junto, the white man who controlled everything in the neighborhood and had a fixation about the color of a woman's skin.

With these elements Mrs. Petry has woven the rich tapestry of life on a Harlem street. She has done so with insight and courage, with the basic honesty toward Negro life that Richard Wright, and more recently Chester Himes, have projected into their novels, yet with something added to the sociological realism of a bitter pen. She can show the "cellar-crazed" super, Jones, who is sexually dangerous and a menace to society, not as a black brute who must be trampled to death by a mob, but as a product of what Roi Ottley calls "slum shock," the inevitable result of a wrong system, as a human being rather than a symbol. Or she can paint a picture of a Harlem madam, a great, gaunt amazon who has been badly burned in a fire and refuses to show her body to any man, badly as she wants one, because of a fierce inner pride. For Mrs. Petry knows what it is to live as a Negro in New York City and she also knows how to put it down on paper so that it is as scathing an indictment of our society as has ever appeared, notwithstanding the sugar-coating. Yet with all this—and to this reviewer Mrs. Petry is the most exciting new Negro writer of the last decade—still, there is a serious limitation in both the author and this book.

It is difficult to detract from something that seems so nearly perfect, and from a writer with such genuine talent, yet the truth of the matter is that there is a bad sag in the last third of the book which is almost fatal. In the midst of my real excitement (and an opening chapter which is as good writing as I have encountered almost anywhere), I was suddenly dumped into a bog of hopelessness that made me, as a reader, flounder rather badly. It seemed almost as though two people had collaborated on the book, one of them a sincere and honest writer, the other a slick-magazine technician with a completely mechanical heart and mind. The whole sequence of plot built around Lutie and her aspirations to sing in Boots Smith's band in order to get herself and Bub away from the street, and the relationship of them both toward Mr. Junto and its inevitable conclusion, are as banal and contrived as anything that ever appeared in the slicks. And even though Mrs. Petry has partially saved things by not going soft in the ending, one is left with a bad taste in the mouth that persists.

Normally, perhaps, one would not mention this, for certainly Mrs. Petry's batting average is high enough to stand one poop-out. Yet it seems to this reviewer that there is something basic here, something that not only concerns Mrs. Petry but all of us who are deeply interested in seeing the novel as an important factor in the fight against racial intolerance and for the logical integration of the Negro into the American life stream. Ann Petry has it within her power to be a vital force in that protest movement, or she can, almost as easily, become a popular writer who, within the taboos of marketability, will find success almost too easy. That she can be either is shown clearly in this book, but to be both, as also seems proved in these pages, makes her a writer whose work exhibits the flaws that may eventually alienate her from both audiences. That she is a real writer few, I think, will deny, but so long as she remains a paradox, the road before her may well be as menacing as 116th Street. Either fork will probably assure her a wide audience; which will bring her the greater inner satisfaction is for her to decide.

BUCKLIN MOON

MICHAEL SAYERS
and ALBERT E. KAHN
authors of
SABOTAGE *and* THE PLOT AGAINST THE PEACE

The Great Conspiracy
THE SECRET WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA

This book about Russia, which sets the record straight after 28 years of misrepresentation, is an absorbing narrative about the actual personalities who fomented treason and terror within and the international plots without, which almost separated the democracies from their natural ally, the Soviet Union.

Frederick L. Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College, says: "Documented and indisputable even in its most startling episodes . . . the book is an unanswerable challenge to the new war-mongers of today."

At all bookstores • $3.50
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY

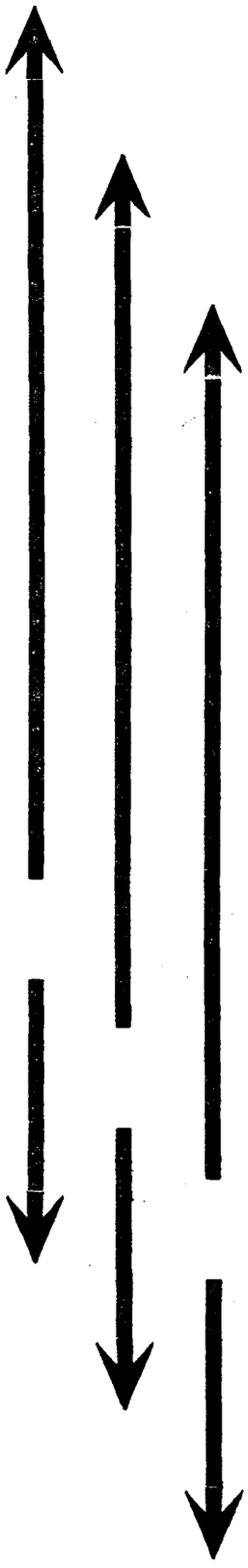
Future of a Partnership

Rival Partners, by Keith Hutchison. New York: The Macmillan Company. 262 pages. $2.

A HOPEFUL SIGN for the joint future of Great Britain and the United States is that so many of the best minds on both sides of the Atlantic are devoting so much newsprint and brainsweat to the matter. Latest contributor is the *Nation's* British-born Keith Hutchison, whose *Rival Partners* reaches the booksellers just as Congress is preparing to beat out its brains on the subject of the loan to Britain.

Much of the Washington talk you hear these days about the loan, socialism in Britain, the controversial figures of Mr. Laski and Lord Keynes, proceeds from people whose purpose is to smash British-American relations and who neglect no dark innuendo from the aberrations of George III to the future of the tung-nut industry in the Far West

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



IS THE STOCKMARKET TOO HIGH?

The stockmarket is booming. All over America, small investors are buying common stocks.

Are they likely to lose their shirts?

Is another crash coming, like that of 1929? If so, when and under what circumstances? What are the similarities to, and differences from, 1920 and 1929?

Do the new rules of the SEC protect the new investor, and if so, to what extent?

These and other similar questions will be discussed in a series of three articles,

THE BIG BULL MARKET

by George Soule

Don't miss this important series beginning in the New Republic next week.

---

13 WEEKS ONLY $1

THE NEW REPUBLIC,
40 E. 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Enter my subscription for the next 13 weeks. I enclose $1.00.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State.....

2-11-46

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to achieve their fell purpose. Mr. Hutchison belongs to another bailiwick entirely, thank Heaven, and his book shows his constructive good sense on almost every page.

This reader, who inclines to quail just a bit before the mysteries of international finance, found *Rival Partners* a generally absorbing and clarifying work. The book's major weakness, which must be blamed on Father Time rather than on the author, is that it stops just short of the arrival of the Keynes mission in Washington. Since that mission and its result serve as a kind of focal point in any consideration of current Anglo-American economic relations, this is something like reading a mystery which never tells you who killed Lord What's-his-name in the library.

However, Mr. Hutchison did labor valiantly to the last minute to bring his final pages up to date while Britain changed her government, atomic bombs fell, Japan collapsed and Lend-Lease went up in a puff of smoke. And within the limits of his time which flew by on jet-propelled wings, he produced a decently phrased analysis of the economic problems of America (they boil down to too much of everything) and of Britain (they boil down to too little), as well as a neat series of sketches of areas in which the "partners" are or may be in dispute, such as aviation, oil, shipping and access to raw materials.

Regrettably, Mr. Hutchison does not give us his own blueprint for coöperation, but in the final section of *Rival Partners* he does give us a few signposts. One is his rational insistence that worldwide full employment is "the magnetic north of the economic globe." Without general agreement that it is a governmental responsibility to provide full employment, there is little that can be done to prevent the virus of "boom and bust" slipping through economic channels from nation to nation and finally infecting the whole world.

Another point Mr. Hutchison hammers home is that there is virtually no limit to world markets, provided backward parts of the earth are properly developed. Therefore Britain and America need never fear a throat-cutting trade fight if all potential customers are given the education to desire and the chance to buy. As Lord Woolton said to Mr. Hutchison: "There's no such thing as overproduction, though God knows there's plenty of underconsumption."

A third point concerns the role of Britain in the trade of the future. Mr. Hutchison believes that the only wisdom lies in helping her win back the place she temporarily lost because of the extraordinary completeness of her war effort which, per capita, considerably exceeded our own. Without American help, Great Britain would have to face the grim possibility (grim for us all) of retrieving her economic Dunkirk alone through whatever dog-eat-dog methods, such as bilateral trading, should appear necessary. That could only result in the dividing up of the world into many antagonistic trade blocs, thus paving the way for new depressions and new wars.

Mr. Hutchison scouts the pet idea of some isolationist economists that Britain should retire gracefully from Great Power status, "and settle down to a quiet old age, supporting itself by agriculture, light industries and the exhibition of its scenic and historic treasures to transatlantic tourists." Says he: "There will be no voluntary retirement. Britain will . . . reëstablish and maintain its place in the world with American collaboration if it can, on its own if it must."

In its long history, no one has ever safely counted Britain out, though many have tried. Despite the dark picture one gets of England today, the vigor of the Socialist government, its domestic courage and even its iron-jawed Tory-like foreign policy, remind us that this nation, though hard-pressed, is far from done. George Soule has emphasized, as Keith Hutchison does not, that although some sources of British wealth, such as coal and textiles, are declining, others, such as machinery, chemicals, electrical equipment and, of course, her standard luxury products, are on the upgrade.

Important questions for the future, then, begin not with "why" but "how." After the conclusion of the loan negotiations, observers will hope for another book by Mr. Hutchison taking that tack. It should make excellent reading.

DENIS PLIMMER

Worth Reprinting

NOTHING is more symptomatic of the relative bleakness of the current literary scene than the increasing number of reprints, not only of books reissued in the lower-priced series but of books restored to print in the more regular processes of publishing. "Revivals"—James, Forster, Trollope, and of authors like Waugh and Isherwood who are still fairly warm—have been the order of the day. The following covers only a fraction of the books that have recently been or are shortly to be reprinted.

With slight revisions, Mark Van Doren's *The Poetry of John Dryden* (1920) has been reissued as *John Dryden: A Study of His Poetry* (Holt, $3). In a new preface Mr. Van Doren explains that his revisions "often consist in efforts to tone up what I once, in an ardor to be judicial, toned down." The book remains a model of scholarship and criticism and it can only be hoped that this new edition will bring it a popular audience to join the small group of enthusiasts who have acclaimed it throughout the years.

All Trivia (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50) contains the four slender volumes of Logan Pearsall Smith's aphoristic "pieces of moral prose" written over a period of some thirty years. I remain relatively immune to their charm and wisdom, but it must be added that they are greatly admired by a variety of people, including Cyril Connolly, who has paid them the compliment of open imitation.

International Publishers have reprinted Ralph Fox's *The Novel and the People* ($1.75), which was published originally in 1937, the year its author was killed in the Spanish civil war. It is an extremely uneven book, full of literary and political confusions, but it is one of the few critical books of the thirties that bear reprinting. Its enthusiasm for *books* was notable in a time so largely given over to historical and biographical criticism, and that enthusiasm was communicated to at least one reader, who was led by it to his first encounters with Diderot's fiction, *L'Education Sentimentale*, *Tyl Ulenspiegel*, *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane* and the novels of E. M. Forster.

Like Christopher Isherwood and Evelyn Waugh, Graham Greene was slow in achieving popularity in America; consequently some of his early books, like theirs, had small printings and have long been unobtainable. One of his best, *The Power and the Glory*, first published in the United

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

States as *The Labyrinthine Ways*, is now again available (Viking, $2.50).

The Dial Press's "Permanent Library," which has already issued fat selections of Henry James and Dostoevsky, promises volumes of D. H. Lawrence, Tolstoy and Baudelaire, among others. . . . The Viking "Portable Library" announces for early publication an *Oscar Wilde* and a *William Faulkner*, to be edited by Richard Aldington and Malcolm Cowley respectively.

War and the Poet (Devin-Adair, $3) is edited by Richard Eberhart and Selden Rodman and subtitled "a comprehensive anthology of the world's great war poetry, 1800 B. C. —1945 A. D." It is quite possible that the editors have tried to cover too much ground in a relatively short book; almost every reviewer has found one or another of his favorites missing, but there are a number of poems, familiar and unfamiliar, that give off new light in this context. A good portion of the poems from the recent war appeared in Oscar Williams' *The War Poets*, and several—by Karl Shapiro, Dylan Thomas, John Manifold, Dunstan Thompson, Gervase Stewart and Timothy Corsellis—first appeared in the *New Republic*.

The Complete Writings of Thomas Paine have been fitted into two large volumes by Philip Foner (Citadel, $6). Since earlier editions containing the less familiar writings have long been difficult to come by, Mr. Foner's work is doubly welcome. A less demanding approach to Paine is the Modern Library's one-volume Giant, which includes *The Selected Work of Tom Paine*, and Howard Fast's fictionalized biography, *Citizen Tom Paine* ($1.45).

Also in the early-American field is a boxed set of Claude G. Bowers' life of Jefferson—*Jefferson and Hamilton*, 1925; *Jefferson in Power*, 1936; *The Young Jefferson*, 1945 (Houghton Mifflin, $10).

Bargain Counter. Among the first 20 titles issued by Bantam Books (25 cents each) are Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*, *The Grapes of Wrath* and *The Great Gatsby*. The latter has also just been reissued as one of the "New Classics" (New Directions, $1). The last is one of the most valuable reprint series we have, both in terms of the literary quality of the books and their physical appearance. It includes selections the larger reprint houses never touch, and in some instances has restored to circulation books that the larger houses have dropped because of relatively small sales. In the first category is Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*, published originally in 1937, a brilliant (perhaps lurid is the word) account of Parisian exile in the twenties.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Early Sorrow

Once in Every Lifetime, by Tom Hanlin. New York: The Viking Press. 184 pages. $2.

HERE ARE two books in one. The one is a story of first love, of the life of the English coal miner, of "drudges and slaveys." The other is a story of conflict as deep as any mine shaft, a conflict between the individual and his environment, which cripples his life, torments him until his death.

Order by Mail to Get the New, Hard-Hitting PM Feature

FIORELLO H. LaGUARDIA

The most provocative new columnist whose weekly articles are as militant and yet as warmly human as his famed radio broadcasts. LaGuardia writes every week for PM SUNDAY EDITION.

Fill out and mail this coupon with check or money order (no cash please) and make sure of mail delivery direct to your door . . . of PM, with the weekly column that is already the talk of the nation.

Extend My Subscription ☐ Enter My Subscription ☐

Name .....
(Please print)

Street ..... State .....
(City and Postal Zone)

1 Year		6 Months	
Daily and Sunday	$16.00 ☐	Daily and Sunday	$8.25 ☐
Sunday Only	$ 4.90 ☐	Sunday Only	$2.50 ☐

Mail to PM, Box 81, Times Square, New York City. These rates apply only to U. S. A. and Possessions. Subscriptions accepted for mailing only outside of New York City. (NR-LaG)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

H. G. WELLS—Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA—An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church"

An historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis.

Cloth Binding $1.75 Paper-covered $1.25

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann

A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration.

Cloth Binding $1.75 Paper-covered $1.00

COMBINATION OFFERS

Both Cloth Bound Books $3.00
Both Paper Bound Books $2.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"

48 pages of Documented Facts . . . 25¢

☛ *Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books*

Order from:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 252
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

Invest NOW in a

WRITING CAREER

Invest in Your Own Future by Learning to Write Under Expert Guidance

The Magazine Institute, a private school owned and operated by successful writers and editors, offers practical, personal training in writing for magazines. You work in your own home, in spare time. Every assignment is returned with detailed criticism.

FICTION OR NON-FICTION

You may concentrate on either short story or article work, or you may experiment with several fields. The Magazine Institute training is not a textbook course but a series of fascinating writing tasks which lead to the actual preparation, under editorial direction, of short stories, articles, feature stories, whatever you are best fitted to do.

FREE CATALOG

Send TODAY for our free catalog which tells all about opportunities in magazine writing.

THE MAGAZINE INSTITUTE, INC.
Dept. 42-D, 50 Rockefeller Plaza,
Rockefeller Center, New York 20, N. Y.

Please send me your free catalog. This inquiry is confidential and no salesman will call on me.

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone... State.....

It all began when a young boy, "a dour-looking customer," knelt alongside little Jenny in a schoolroom "with no one there but our two selves." "Jenny had her bare feet the same as I had," and the love was born, never to grow to fruition. Like most boys, the hero wanted to be like everybody else, "a fella among other fellas," trying to do as they do. "But behind it was a feeling that he was *like nobody else.*" The deep suspicion that what one is or wants to be *is not* what one is forced to be or to do, begins to gnaw and warp both selves. And this inner conflict bears the bitter fruit of frustrated love, of warped, dismal life, of death.

When one's inside is dead and he does not know it, one is satisfied just because he has not died. Under such circumstances "all you want is a job and a home and peace to bring up your family." This is important, says Hanlin, "because it's being lost sight of as the machines grow bigger and better, as the government and states and comedians and know-alls and hypocrites grow more arrogant."

The background for the story is furnished in bold strokes, painting the living and working conditions in an English coal-mining camp. "Lucky people who hadn't to breathe poison air or work in water, whose eyes never got bloodshot with toil. . . . If machinery would not kill you, the drudgery and slavery would crush you" and your visions of Jenny and beauty and happiness and hope and peace.

"Some live till the moment they die; some are dead long before they die." If you are the latter, this book will miss you; if you are not, you can't afford to overlook it and miss the rare delight, the insight into our own labor issues and something beyond the bounds of time and space.

WALTER N. POLAKOV

WAITING IN THE NIGHT, by George Millar (Doubleday, $2.75). After two months of hurried training in England—a feverish period satirically described in a way to delight admirers of Evelyn Waugh—the author was dropped by parachute to Maquis in the Besançon sector just before D-Day. Captain Millar's main job was to organize sabotage operations, which, with the aid of a lot of splendid Frenchmen, he brought off with considerable éclat. His story is very much worth reading for its skillful portraits of brave men—and women—and its sensitive feeling for the French countryside; it is good news that a novel by this young Englishman has been announced by Doubleday for early publication.

Contributors

Bucklin Moon is the author of a novel, *The Darker Brother*, and edited *Primer for White Folks*, an anthology about Negroes, published last fall by Doubleday and Company.

Denis Plimmer is a free-lance contributor to American, British and Dominion papers and magazines who has been an editor of the Overseas Branch of the OWI and a Foreign News Editor of *Time*. He is completing a book on Russian foreign policy to be published by Dodd, Mead.

Walter N. Polakov is an industrial engineer who lives in Washington.

Theodore Roethke was educated at Michigan and Harvard Universities. He is a member of the English department at Bennington College and is the author of *Open House and Other Poems* (Knopf).

Reviews in Forthcoming Issues

John Crowe Ransom on Kenneth Burke's *A Grammar of Motives;* Stark Young on Roy Meredith's *Mr. Lincoln's Cameraman: Matthew B. Brady;* George Soule on Joseph Dorfman's *The Economic Mind in American Civilization;* Paul M. Sweezy on the new edition of Thorstein Veblen's *The Nature of Peace;* Eric Bentley on Franz Werfel's *Poems;* Richard H. Rovere on *The Autobiography of William Allen White;* Isaac Rosenfeld on Gladys Schmitt's *David the King;* Alfred Kazin on Randall Jarrell's *Little Friend, Little Friend;* Marjorie Farber on Henry Miller's *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare;* Malcolm Cowley: an article on Walt Whitman.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MICHAEL TODD Presents

MAURICE EVANS

In His New Production of Shakespeare's

HAMLET

Columbus Circle Thea. B'way at 59th St.—CO. 5-1173
Evs. 8:30. Mts. Thu. & Sat. 2:30

UP IN CENTRAL PARK

Book by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS · Lyrics by DOROTHY FIELDS · Music by SIGMUND ROMBERG

BROADWAY THEATRE B'way at 53rd St. Mats.: Sat. & Sun. Evs. Incl. Sun. 2:30 & 8:30

"A PHENOMENAL SUCCESS!" — *Morehouse, Sun*

KERN AND HAMMERSTEIN'S

SHOW BOAT

Music by JEROME KERN. Books and Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Based on the novel by EDNA FERBER • Staged by HASSARD SHORT

ZIEGFELD THEA. 54th Street and Sixth Avenue. CI. 5-5200
Evs. 8:30 Sharp. Mts. Wed. & Sat. 2:30 Sharp

"A DELIGHTFUL PLAY" — Coleman, *Mirror*

Rodgers and Hammerstein present

MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA

in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S

I REMEMBER MAMA

from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP

MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636
Evs. 8:35 Sharp Mats. Thurs. and Sat 2:35 Sharp

"NO. 1 ON THE HIT PARADE"—*Walter Winchell*

EDWIN LESTER Presents the Musical Triumph

SONG OF NORWAY

Based on the Life and Music of EDVARD GRIEG

IMPERIAL THEATRE. 45th St., West of Broadway. CO. 5-2412.
Evs. 8:30 Sharp. Mats. Wed. & Sat. & Feb. 22d, 2:30.
CURTAIN AT 8:30. PLEASE—NO ONE SEATED DURING PROLOGUE

ALICE FAYE • DANA ANDREWS • LINDA DARNELL

FALLEN ANGEL

A 20th Century-Fox Picture • Produced & Directed by OTTO PREMINGER

—— *GALA STAGE SHOW* ——

CARMEN MIRANDA

Nestor CHAYRES • *Extra!* Aveline ROBBINS

ROXY 7th Ave. at 50th Street

CONCERT—FORUM

FREE CONCERT — FORUM
in observance of
NEGRO HISTORY WEEK

SPEAKERS:

Lillian Hellman, *Author* • Dean Dixon, *Conductor*

Plus: 1 HOUR OF MUSIC

Monday, February 11, at 8:30 p.m.

WORKERS FELLOWSHIP, *a group of*
The Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON 125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE 23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"A TIMELY DRAMA"—*N. Y. Sun*

JOAN LESLIE · ROBERT HUTTON

'TOO YOUNG TO KNOW'

Adapted from HARLAN WARE'S story

—*And*—

'THE DALTONS RIDE AGAIN'

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN Jamaica
Keith's FLUSHING
Keith's RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL

"Engrossing Melodrama" —*N. Y. Times* • "Highly Recommended" —*N. Y. Herald Tribune*

CHARLES BOYER · LAUREN BACALL

—*In*—

'CONFIDENTIAL AGENT'

—*With*—

KATINA PAXINOU • PETER LORRE

Adapted from GRAHAM GREENE'S novel

—*And*—

'LOVE, HONOR and GOODBYE'

VIRGINIA BRUCE • VICTOR McLAGLEN

2nd WEEK

RKO ALBEE
FULTON & DE KALB
BROOKLYN

Gripping Drama of Modern Piracy!

GEORGE RAFT

CLAIRE TREVOR • SIGNE HASSO

'JOHNNY ANGEL'

Based on *Charles Gordon Booth's* novel

—And—

'THE DALTONS RIDE AGAIN'

PARAMOUNT *presents*

VERONICA LAKE · SONNY TUFTS

JOAN CAULFIELD

"MISS SUSIE SLAGLE'S"

—*with*—

BILLY DeWOLFE • RENNY McEVOY

—*and*—

LILLIAN GISH

A Paramount Picture

—*In Person*—

DANNY KAYE

•

MISS Georgia Gibbs

•

Tip, Tap & Toe

•

Bob Chester AND HIS ORCHESTRA

—*Featuring*—

Larry Butler

NOW PLAYING *PARAMOUNT* TIMES SQUARE

PAMPHLETS

INJUSTICE OF MILITARY JUSTICE
A WALTER WILSON PAMPHLET
Publication date February 22
25 Cents. 7 Washington Pl., N. Y. 3

PENNSYLVANIA LIBERALS! Help elect the next Governor of Pennsylvania. Defeat the reactionary political interests. Write P. O. Box 636, Reading, Pennsylvania.

TRANSLATOR

EXPERT RUSSIAN TRANSLATOR, varied experience, literary, technical, economic, etc. Also editing, typing English manuscripts. Call MElrose 5-7213, 10-2, also eve-

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI 7-0830.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES — Popular brands. Orders shipped same day received; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.35 per carton postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

HELP WANTED

PH.D. PSYCHOLOGIST wants secretary with initiative, literary and organizing ability, who could qualify for an associate on partnership basis. Address: 727, The New Republic.
nings.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0958
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industires. Lessons. By appointment only. Marital, education, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LET'S SETTLE THE GM STRIKE BUT NOT BY HUNGER

THESE ARE ACTUAL CASES—

PONTIAC, MICHIGAN: There are seven children in the family of this striking General Motors worker. Sickness has depleted his savings. He faces foreclosure of his home. There is no money for food.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA: A widowed mother of three needs $10 for shoes for the children, and a minimum of $8.50 a week for food.

FLINT, MICHIGAN: An expectant mother, wife of a veteran, was refused entrance to a hospital till $56 was paid.

200,000 employees of General Motors have been on strike for more than nine weeks. Day-to-day expenses — food, rent, medicine — are eating up their savings and their war bonds. 40,000 families have already exhausted every penny they had put by. —The need gets bigger every day. These people must have help just to live.

WHY CAN'T THE UNION HELP THEM?

William H. Davis, ex-chairman of the War Labor Board, and ex-Economic Stabilizer, told the Senate why on January 16th. No union, he said, can support families during a mass strike. $10 a week to 200,000 men means $2,000,000 a week. The union doesn't have it.

DON'T THE MEN GET GOVERNMENT RELIEF?

In 95.8% of the cases — NO. The few communities that allow relief pay about enough to feed the children — no more. Nothing for emergencies.

WILL YOU HELP US?

Will you help us care for emergency cases such as the ones described here? Experienced social workers will administer the funds you give us, direct to the hardest-hit families.

We want to see the strike settled. But starvation never settled anything. There's a human need that must be met. Help us meet it!

COL. EVANS CARLSON
RUSSELL DAVENPORT
LEON HENDERSON
DR. FRANK KINGDON
FREDA KIRCHWEY
HENRY R. LUCE
ARCHBISHOP ROBERT E. LUCEY
SENATOR WAYNE MORSE
BISHOP FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
HENRY MORGENTHAU, JR.
DR. REINHOLD NIEBUHR
BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM
BISHOP EDWARD L. PARSONS
SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER
MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
BISHOP WILLIAM SCARLETT
BISHOP BERNARD J. SHEIL
HAROLD E. STASSEN
SENATOR GLEN H. TAYLOR
WALTER WANGER
WALTER WHITE
RABBI STEPHEN S. WISE

ELIZABETH JANEWAY, National Secretary — L. G. ROSS, Treasurer

National Committee to Aid Families of General Motors Strikers
212 EAST 49th STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

I agree that HUNGER MUST NOT BE USED AS A WEAPON AGAINST AMERICAN WORKERS.

Here is my contribution of $..... to the emergency fund to feed the wives and children of the 200,000 General Motors strikers.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

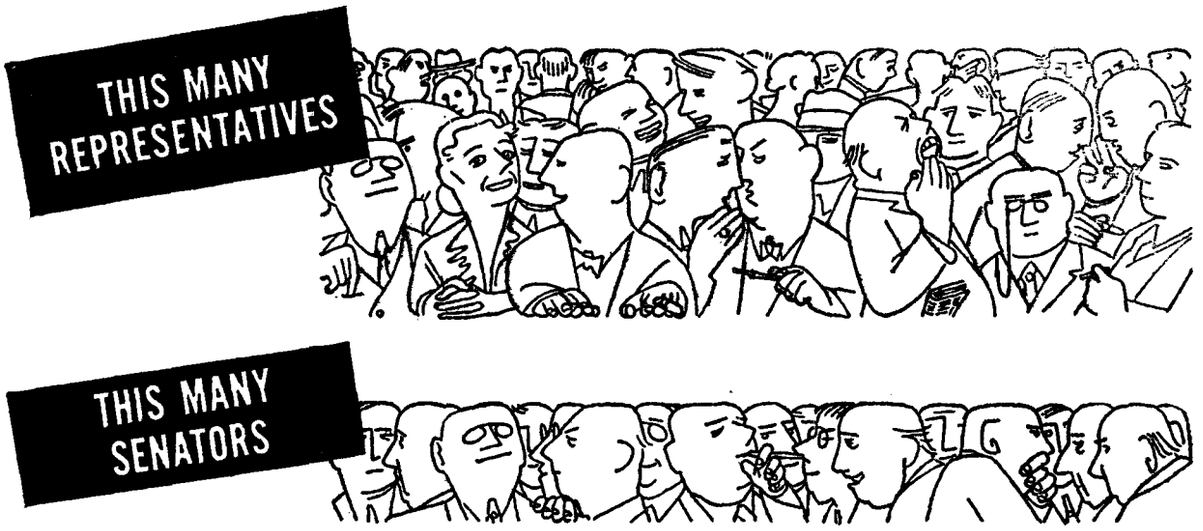
Elections: 1946

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES

YOUR CHANCE TO CHANGE CONGRESS NOW

The New Republic *In two parts: Part Two* February 11, 1946

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



435 Representatives and 34 Senators will be elected in 1946! What are you going to do about it?

So you don't like the way certain Congressmen have behaved lately? *Neither do we.*

So you think a wilful minority in Congress has deliberately sabotaged the entire reconversion and security program of President Truman? *So do we.*

So you're angered at the sorry spectacle of some "representatives of the people" acting as if they were paid to be representatives of the big, reactionary corporations? *So are we.*

WE'RE GOING TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT—BUT WE NEED YOUR HELP.

During 1946, 435 Representatives and 34 Senators will be elected to Congress. They will determine our future—for better, or for worse.

National Citizens PAC, effective in 1944, hopes to be even more effective in the '46 campaigns. We will be working as *intensively as funds permit* to mobilize millions of voters behind progressive candidates—regardless of party.

We urge you to contribute to NC-PAC. Whether you give one dollar or five thousand, your contribution will help elect Congressmen who will support a people's program—a Roosevelt program—and help defeat candidates who menace our welfare and security.

WE NEED YOUR HELP—AND YOU NEED OURS. LET'S GET TOGETHER. RUSH YOUR CONTRIBUTION—CHECK OR MONEY ORDER—TO:

NATIONAL CITIZENS PAC
205 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

THIS IS MY CONTRIBUTION
FOR POLITICAL ACTION $_____

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELECTIONS : 1946

The War Is Not Over

FOR THREE YEARS we fought for the right to live in peace and freedom.

This year we decide what to do with our freedom.

For three years we fought for the right to determine our own future.

This year we exercise that right.

Never in peacetime was there so great a need for leadership in America.

Never in peacetime did the world need American leadership as it does today. America alone among the leaders of the United Nations has not been crippled by this war. America, almost alone, is able to offer the active leadership in the relief and reconstruction of the world that are the first steps to a stable peace. When our government acts, it may determine whether there is to be war in China, starvation in Europe, poverty in Britain. It may determine whether there is to be a world agreement on atomic energy, or an atomic-armaments race: whether there is to be peace or war.

Never did Americans need leadership in their government as they need it now. Thirty million war workers are turning to other jobs. Ten million veterans are asking: is there a future for us in American democracy? Shortages of housing, of clothing, of food; industrial warfare, violent inflation, are the costs of inaction in America. The achievements of real leadership might be tremendous now. The cost of no leadership must be disastrous. Inflation, mass disillusionment of the unemployed, would be the first costs. Loss of faith in America among other peoples, loss of our ability to serve and to strengthen the United Nations would follow. Peace would be far less secure.

Leadership in America centers in the President. But it is not the task of the President alone. Woodrow Wilson wrote of leadership in American government:

"The President by himself is absolutely nothing. The President is what the American nation sustains, and if it does not sustain him, then his power is contemptible and insignificant."

President Truman brought before the Seventy-ninth Congress a program of legislation for full employment, for broadened social security, for a progressive taxation structure, for increased minimum wages. President Truman asserted:

"Nineteen forty-six is our year of decision. This year we lay the foundations of our economic structure which will have to last for generations."

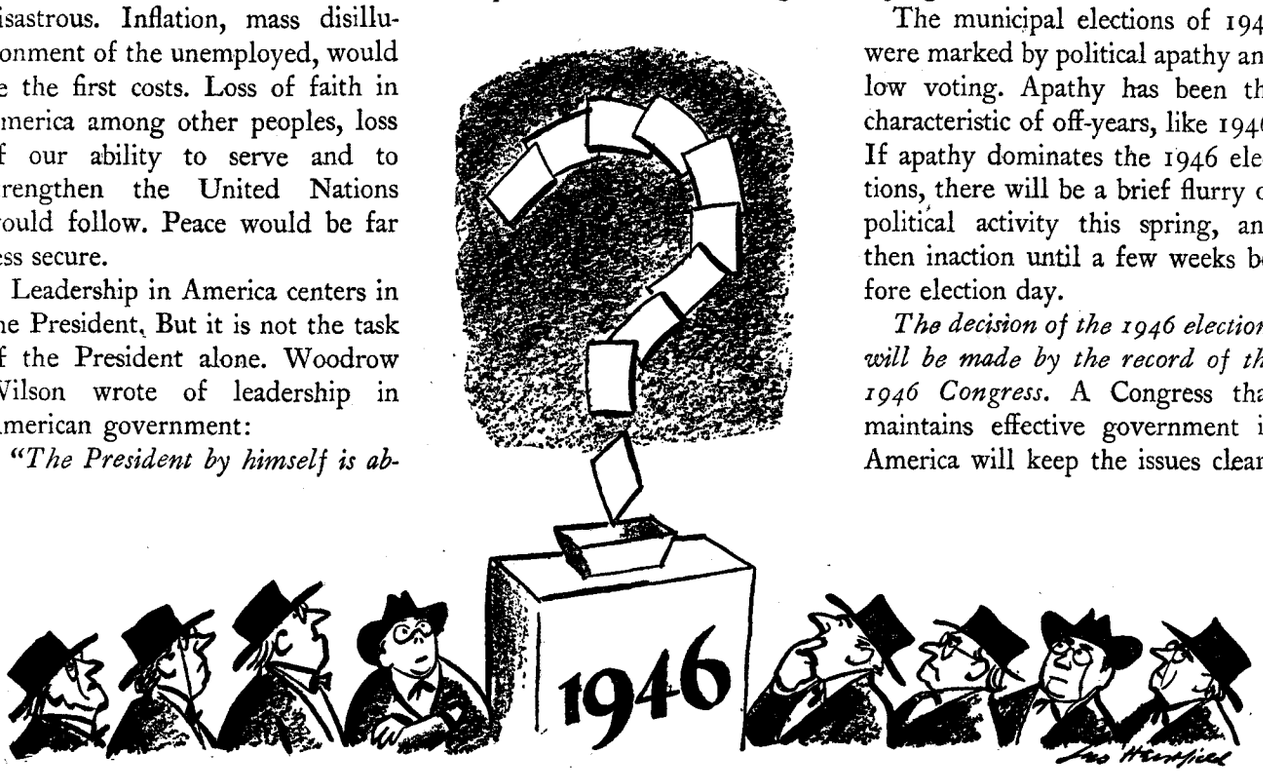
Yet, as the next article proves, the President's program was so far dismembered in Congress that our government, at a crucial moment, was brought to a near-paralysis in the face of inflation, and to a near-renunciation of its promises to our returning soldiers.

This is not leadership.

If this break between the Executive and Congress over a liberal program can be so costly, what will be the cost of complete deadlock? Of the 435 congressional districts, 100 have been recognized as unpredictable by the Democratic and Republican National Committees. Fifty of these are now represented by supporters of a liberal program. But a gain of only 28 seats will give control of the House to a Republican leadership which, as the chart contained in this pamphlet demonstrates, is committed to fight to the last ditch a liberal legislative program.

The municipal elections of 1945 were marked by political apathy and low voting. Apathy has been the characteristic of off-years, like 1946. If apathy dominates the 1946 elections, there will be a brief flurry of political activity this spring, and then inaction until a few weeks before election day.

The decision of the 1946 elections will be made by the record of the 1946 Congress. A Congress that maintains effective government in America will keep the issues clear;



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a Congress that brings government to a standstill may lead to a bitter, confused and disillusioned mood.

We are bringing out this analysis of Congress now for one reason: worthwhile political action in 1946 begins now, or not at all.

This war, as Wendell Willkie said, was not a war of planes and tanks alone; it was fought for the mind and consciousness of all mankind.

In this sense, the war is not over, and we are no more free to return to inactivity and factionalism than our soldiers overseas are free to return home.

The fight for peace is just beginning.

The fight for peace, and for a full life for all Americans, is the same fight.

To fight for these ends is to fight now, for a Congress from which leadership can come.

"Endless Delay"

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT as President developed a wartime program worthy of this country's greatness. It provided for the creation of the United Nations and its full support by the United States, politically and on social and economic issues, in order to maintain the lasting peace that we were fighting for. It provided for a full life for all Americans, by the enactment of a new economic Bill of Rights, to be placed side by side with our political Bill of Rights by congressional action.

President Truman, in his first peacetime message to Congress, in September, 1945, carried forward President Roosevelt's program, asking for definite legislation from the Seventy-ninth Congress.

In world affairs, Congress passed the Administration measures, although many were delayed. In domestic affairs, reaction in Congress tore the program to pieces.

This is the story of what happened.

It is no indictment of the Seventy-ninth Congress. The most dangerous impression that could be created among our returning soldiers, already embittered by congressional inaction, is that Congress as an institution cannot act effectively, or that the Seventy-ninth Congress failed and should be turned out indiscriminately. The Democratic leadership of the Seventy-ninth Congress slogged away steadily at most Administration measures. The Northern Democrats, with few exceptions, voted for these measures. A small, cohesive group of liberal Republicans added their support. A vigorous, often brilliant group of liberal Democrats never gave up the fight.

This is an indictment of reaction within the Seventy-ninth Congress. It is an indictment of the old coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern reactionaries who seemed to be dispersed after President Roosevelt's victory in 1944, but who reorganized and throttled the Roosevelt program in the autumn of 1945.

Our World Responsibility

Representative Jerry Voorhis summed up the task of the Seventy-ninth Congress: "If ever there was a time for statesmanship, that time is now." He added: "That statesmanship has got to be more far-sighted and courageous than we have so far shown."

The great world issue before the Seventy-ninth Congress, initiated by President Roosevelt, presented by President Truman, was the ratification of the United Nations Charter. Our government leaders knew at San Francisco that the Charter was inadequate to deal with the new discovery of atomic energy. But remembrance of 1919, when a small group of American Senators killed the hope of American participation in the League, hung over every conference room at San Francisco and filled the minds of all Americans. We helped draft a charter designed to be acceptable to the great majority of our Senate. It was accepted with only two dissents.

Legislation to implement the Charter was introduced in the House, in the Bretton Woods Agreement. A group of 18 Republican isolationists voted against it in the House, and in the Senate the Republican Old Guard, under Taft, tried to cripple it by amendments and won wide support in their party. They failed on the final vote, and only 16 Senators opposed the agreement.

ONE DARING and dishonest bid for power was made by reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress in the Pearl Harbor investigation. The inquiry followed the reports of the War and Navy Departments in August, 1945.

The strategy of the three Republican members of the joint investigating committee became, as Representative Adolph Sabath asserted, not to "elicit the truth" but to charge "men like our late beloved President . . . with neglect." Representatives Gearhart and Keefe attempted to show that President Roosevelt actually "baited the trap" at Pearl Harbor with the American fleet and that Secretary Hull's last efforts to reach an agreement left the Japanese no choice but war. What those men could not insinuate was said for them by the old America First press, trying once more to create confusion and disillusionment in America. The charges collapsed. The investigation proved that there was insufficient liaison in intelligence between the joint chiefs of staff and Hawaii, and on Hawaii itself, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that between surrender of the Far East to Japan, and war, the Japanese left us no choice.

A second, irresponsible bid by reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress was to create confusion following the resignation of General Hurley. Two Republicans, Senators Hawkes and Bridges, pressed for an investigation to unearth the "dangerous" liberal elements in the State Department. A drive was undertaken against the Department's ablest and most liberal executive, Undersecretary Dean Acheson. "Mr. Acheson wanted to . . . create a revolution in Japan," cried Senator Wherry, the Republican Whip. "Now the same thing is happening in China." But Hurley's charges, echoed by Wherry, were so wild and unsupportable that the investigation came to nothing.

A THIRD irresponsible bid by reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress was to cripple the American relief program. There are today 140 million people in Europe, 84 million in China, who are homeless and one step from starvation. To provide relief, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was established in 1943. It was the first working agency of the United Nations. Forty-four nations contracted to provide one percent of their national incomes in 1945 and 1946 for relief.

In December, 1945, the 44 nations were $579 million behind in their commitments. Five hundred and fifty million dollars of this was owed by the United States.

For UNRRA, General Eisenhower testified before Congress: "The ravished nations of the world are looking to UNRRA for their relief. If UNRRA were to fail them, they could not help but feel that not only had the United States failed them but that the hope of solution of world problems through United Nations action was an illusory one. The best way of developing the habit of coöperation is by building and supporting effective, operating international organizations such as UNRRA."

Certainly the Republicans were committed to swift action for UNRRA. The Republican platform read: "We favor the prompt extension of relief and emergency assistance to the peoples of the liberated countries. . . . We favor immediate feeding of the starving children of our allies and friends in the Nazi-dominated countries and we condemn the New Deal Administration for its failure, in the face of humanitarian demands, to make an effort to do this."

Yet Europe lost $20 million of food in November, 1945, while congressional action was held up in the House Appropriations Committee. In accordance with the report of a Republican steering committee, Representative Dirksen (R, Ill.) was trying to force crippling amendments onto the UNRRA appropriation.

These amendments, sponsored by Representative Brown (R, Ohio) and Representative Herter (R, Mass.), forced politics into relief. They violated the spirit of the agreement of the 44 governments, and the democratic procedure of revising UNRRA's administrative practices through its council. UNRRA's administrator, Herbert Lehman, told Congress that the amendments, which forbade relief funds to any country which placed any censorship whatever on news about UNRRA, "would impose upon UNRRA administrative burdens which it could not hope to carry."

The debate upon the appropriation brought out the old America Firsters who fought step by step every measure for American preparedness. "I was one of those who voted against the creation of UNRRA," said Representative Rizley (R, Okla.) ". . . . We shall not be a party to keeping an organization functioning that is permitting the use of relief dollars to play power politics, to foster and aid communism, to aid, assist and abet Tito and his cohorts." "Mr. Chairman," cried Representative O'Konski (R, Wis.), "this call for more clothing, more food and more medicine comes from . . . chiselers . . . gangsters and . . . racketeers." "UNRRA," said Representative Smith (R, Ohio), "is an international racket of the first water. . . . It should be abolished forthwith and not another cent appropriated for it." Representative Rankin (D, Miss.) brought in his old racial prejudice: "We are ostensibly trying to feed the hungry peoples of Europe. I am offering to substitute the Red Cross for an international bureaucracy because we know that the Red Cross will feed those people. . . . If this amendment is adopted it will do just exactly what the Christian people of America want done."

The House passed the appropriation, with the crippling amendment tied to it. The vote of 188 to 163 by which the amendment was attached to the bill is shown in our chart. In the Senate, the amendment was struck out as unworkable, but the damage—delay—was done.

SENSE AND NONSENSE ON RELIEF

Sen. Aiken (R, Vt.): A lasting peace cannot be maintained in a hungry world.

Rep. Lemke (R, N. D.): We were made suckers when we permitted 43 "gimme gimme" nations to put over upon our representatives . . . that each nation was to pay one percent of its national income for relief.

Rep. Short (R, Mo.): The old cow has had her head here in America. We have been feeding her and taking care of her. Her other end has been in Europe and she has been milked dry.

Rep. Rich (R, Pa.): We have been a veritable Santa Claus to Great Britain.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fight Against Inflation

President Truman told the Seventy-ninth Congress in September, 1945: "We must keep in mind the experience of the period immediately after the First World War. After a lull of a few months following the Armistice, prices turned upward . . . and soon got out of hand. We found ourselves in one of the worst inflations in our history, culminating in the crash of 1920 and the disastrous deflation of 1920 and 1921. . . . One of the outstanding achievements of the war," President Truman added, "has been the success of the government in holding the line against inflation." He asked Congress to extend the Administration's powers to hold back inflation, and to work with the Administration in resisting the pressures of special groups upon the OPA.

All of the American people were involved in this fight. OPA Administrator Chester Bowles declared: "Unless we can win the fight against the pressure-group urge to inflation, we shall condemn America to a brief period of false boom followed by a shattering smash-up that will shake our economy to its foundations."

Reaction in Congress, instead, made Bowles's life miserable: insulting him at hearings and investigations, swamping him with demands for price increases, encouraging a reconversion slowdown and mass violations of price ceilings by threatening to abolish price control altogether. At a time when profits were rolling in at the record rate of $25 billion a year, Senator Taft attempted to dismember the OPA on the ground that it refused sufficient profits to American business.

For the record, here are some of the many measures introduced into the Seventy-ninth Congress to weaken the OPA:

Senate Resolution 153, authored by Homer E. Capehart (R, Ind.) and Millard E. Tydings (D, Md.), calling for an investigation of pricing policies.

Senate Resolution 156, sponsored by Wayne Morse (R, Ore.), to investigate the OPA's policies and efficiency.

House Joint Resolution 232, introduced by Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.), which would abolish the OPA altogether.

House Resolution 280, introduced by Fred A. Hartley (R, N. J.), to approve a report branding the OPA as an impediment to reconversion. The report was made by a committee under the chairmanship of Howard W. Smith (D, Va.).

House Joint Resolution 268, offered by Bartel J. Jonkman (R, Mich.), to scrap price control.

House Joint Resolution 275, submitted by Henry D. Larcade Jr. (D, La.), taking price control away from the OPA and allowing the President to distribute its functions among other agencies.

Senate Joint Resolution 118, sponsored by Kenneth S. Wherry (R, Neb.) and Tom Stewart (D, Tenn.), prohibiting price levels that would require anyone but the consumer to absorb increased costs.

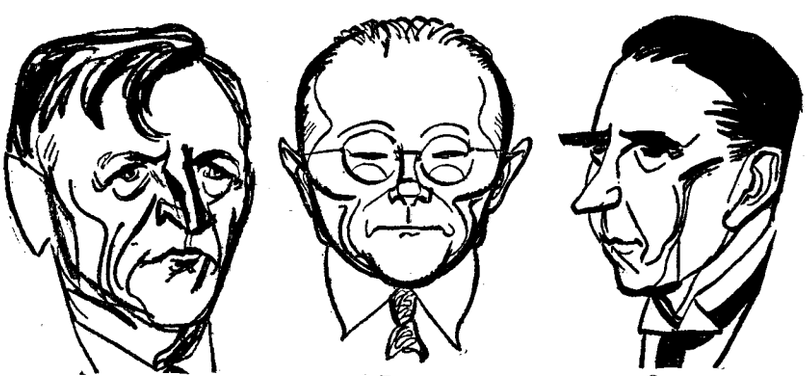
The House defeated the Jenkins (R, Ohio) amendment on June 23, by 178-198 (NR Test Vote: see Chart). Inspired by Herbert Hoover, this amendment would have transferred control of farm-product prices to the Secretary of Agriculture. But the House passed the Andresen (R, Minn.) amendment on the same day, 211-155 (NR Test Vote: see Chart). This gave the Secretary of Agriculture veto power over all OPA regulations, orders and directives relating to farm products, and so weakened the OPA.

THE MAIN ISSUE before the Seventy-ninth Congress in halting inflation was the extension of the government's wartime powers to enforce price ceilings. Under law, these powers ended six months after V-J Day unless Congress extended them. President Truman in September told Congress:

"The American people are entitled to a firm reassurance from the Congress . . . that rents and the prices of clothing, food and other essentials will be held in line. . . . The controls which remain and which are considered necessary should not be removed until the need for them disappears. . . ." President Truman asked Congress to extend price control beyond June 30, 1946—reaction in Congress disagreed; Congress refused. The President asked for the extension of the Second War Powers Act, governing rationing, for a year. The Act was extended for only six months.

Sadly, Mr. Truman told the people in January: "Pressure groups are at work in the Congress and outside the Congress constantly pushing, lobbying, arguing to take off price controls and let prices go up without interference. . . . The inflationary pressures now at work can bring on inflation and a crash that will be more serious than in 1920. . . . Time is running out."

On June 30, 1945, ten hours before it was due to expire, Congress extended price control. Long before June 30, 1946, if Congress is controlled by re-



HOFFMAN BILBO SMITH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

action, price ceilings will start to crack and break as inflation bursts through.

The Fight for Employment and Security

Full Employment. – In his State of the Union message in January, 1944, President Roosevelt called upon Congress to enact an Economic Bill of Rights to "assure us equality in the pursuit of happiness. . . . All of these rights spell security," the President said. "After this war is won, we must . . . move forward in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

The first of these rights was "the right to a useful and remunerative job." No group dared deny this right in wartime—it became part of the war aims of every soldier. To make it real, the full-employment bill (S. 380) was introduced in January, 1945, by Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.) It did not guarantee full employment. It did commit the government to planned efforts to assure full employment. When President Truman carried forward the Roosevelt program in his message of September 7, he called for the passage of the Murray bill. "The country," President Truman asserted, "justifiably expects early action along these lines."

The bill was voted out by the Banking and Currency Committee of the Senate without major changes. It was passed, with two amendments, by 71-10.

"Failure to solve this problem," Senator Wagner told his colleagues, "would undermine the health and well-being of our people, shatter our political and social institutions and wreck our hopes of avoiding a third world war."

In principle, the Republicans certainly agreed. The Republican platform declared: "We shall adopt a program to put men to work in peace industry as promptly as possible."

In practice, reaction in Congress disagreed. "Full employment is another synonym for dole," said Representative Hare (D, S. C.). "The bill we are considering," cried Representative Smith (R, Ohio), "is one to put the American people in chains in the guise of preserving their liberties." "I cannot think of a more destructive thing to do," asserted Representative Whittington (D, Miss.), "than to declare at this time, whether men desire to work or not . . . the government will guarantee them jobs."

After two months' delay, the Expenditures Committee rewrote the bill and reported one that made no mention of full employment. It was passed after the House had refused, by 185-95, to consider the original bill. The House bill, the President told the American people, "is not at all acceptable."

Sense and Nonsense about Democracy

Sen. Taylor (D, Idaho): May I ask, is not democracy predicated upon rule of the majority?

Sen. Tydings (D, Md.): The rule of the majority. The rule of votes. Majority to Hades. The rule of petty political preference. The rule of the majority. The rule that has brought more bloodshed and turmoil and cruelty on this earth than any other thing I know of. Of course, it is necessary to have it as a yardstick in order to do business, but let us not fool ourselves with the silly thought that majorities are always right. It was the majority in this body that struck down the League of Nations, and it was the majority in this body that raised the UNO to eminence.

Social Security. – The seventh point in President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights is "the right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment."

In his message to Congress in September, President Truman pointed out that "13 million non-farm workers are not covered by social-security legislation, that . . . almost half of the states have the clearly inadequate maximum of $15 to $16 a week," and that "many of the states pay benefits for too short a period. . . . I recommend that Congress take immediate action to make good these deficiencies," Mr. Truman said.

Five Democratic Senators, Kilgore, Guffey, Murray, Pepper and Thomas of Utah, introduced a bill to provide maximum unemployment compensation of $25 for 26 weeks, and to extend coverage to federal and maritime workers, as the President requested.

The Senate Finance Committee knocked out the $25 provision and made the 26-week provision contingent on requests of individual Governors.

The issue came to the Senate floor. "We pledge our support of . . . extension of the existing old-age-insurance and unemployment-insurance systems to all employees not already covered," the Republican platform read. In the Senate, Republicans defeated a move by Senator Barkley to restore the $25 maximum, and every Republican present voted to return the United

George Taft Cox

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENSE AND NONSENSE ON RECONSTRUCTION

Sen. Pepper (D, Fla.): I believe they [the Russians] can satisfy our government that these funds are to be used for productive purposes and in the long run to our advantage because industrialized Russia is one of the most inviting markets the whole world holds for us.

Rep. Clare Luce (R, Conn.): If Uncle Joe will open up his books to us, it might be that this will be a good investment or it might show that it will be a horrible risk.

Rep. Woodruff (R, Mich): Britain is bankrupt. Our government should not consider a loan to Britain when the British government put up collateral.

Rep. Jenkins (R, Ohio): Give Britain a good kick for her impudence.

Rep. Jessie Sumner (R, Ill.): The United States has been subsidizing England for twenty years.

Rep. Pittinger (R, Minn.): We all know that these so-called loans will never be repaid. I challenge the good faith of Britain and Russia and France.

States Employment Service to the states, over the protest of the President. The opposition to the liberalization of the bill was led by Senator Hickenlooper (R, Iowa), Senator Wherry (R, Nebr.) and Senator Wilson (R, Iowa). A weak bill passed the Senate, and was buried in the House Ways and Means Committee, whose Republican members voted solidly to keep it locked up. "It will remain locked up in that committee," said President Truman in January, "unless you, the people of the United States, insist that it be reported out and passed."

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Upon a stronger and more effective Congress may well depend the preservation of democracy in the United States. – *Senator La Follette*

So reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress must take the responsibility for condemning the American people to undergo one of the periods of greatest economic dislocation in their history without adequate social security.

The United States Employment Service. – "Placing demobilized veterans and displaced war workers in new peacetime jobs," President Truman told Congress in September, "is the major human problem of our country's reconversion. . . ." This job was the responsibility of the United States Employment Service. It operated on a centralized basis in wartime; it was to be returned to the states within sixty days after the end of the war.

"To make any decided change in the machinery to handle this problem," President Truman added, "would cause unnecessary hardship to workers and veterans. It would slow down the entire process of reconversion. I urgently recommend that the Congress do not yet return the employment service to the states."

Instead, reaction in the House, under the able leadership of Representative Dirksen (R, Ill.), undertook to dismember USES within thirty days. In the Senate, the Administration bill was defeated 35 to 31 (see the Chart). In conference, USES was given 100 days. The President refused to sign the bill.

For Minimum Wages. – Finally, the second right of President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights, for which we fought, is "the right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation."

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 established the first minimum wage at 25 cents an hour. It was raised to 40 cents in 1945. In September, President Truman told Congress that the increased cost of living made the 40-cent minimum "obsolete." He called upon Congress to amend the Act "by substantially increasing the minimum wage."

Senator Pepper introduced the amendment in the Senate, Representative Hook in the House. Months later, in January, 1946, President Truman had to tell the American people:

"Although hearings have been held on the question in the Congress, no action has been taken.

SENSE AND NONSENSE ON FULL EMPLOYMENT

Rep. Fogarty (D, R. I.): I believe it is no more than just and proper that this Congress should enact a real full-employment bill. I believe that to enact a weak-kneed measure as proposed by the [Executive Expenditures] committee will be an act of cowardice on the part of Congress.

Sen. Taft (R, Ohio): There is no panacea by which we can furnish full employment unless we are prepared to adopt a totalitarian system.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SENSE AND NONSENSE ON THE UNO

Sen. Hatch (D, N. M.): The United Nations . . . does not constitute a long step towards international coöperation, but it is an essential one.

Sen. Wheeler (D, Mont.): Only aggressors today are our beloved and peace-loving allies. If the UNO had a definition of aggression today and you were going to stop aggression, you would be compelled to go to war with Russia.

"The bills are now resting in the Education and Labor Committee of the Senate and in the Labor Committee of the House.

"And so it goes with measure after measure in the Congress."

THE FIGHT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

The abolition of discrimination in employment was basic in President Roosevelt's wartime program. In accordance with this program, President Truman recommended to Congress legislation to make the Fair Employment Practice Commission permanent. "I repeat this recommendation," he said in September.

The Republican Party was completely committed to the FEPC. Its platform read: "We unreservedly condemn the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice. . . . We pledge the establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission."

When the appropriation of the wartime FEPC came to the House Appropriations Committee, its fund of $500,000 was abolished. The Senate Appropriations Committee failed to restore any part of it. The Senate itself voted, 42-26, in favor of Senator Barkley's motion to restore one-half the appropriation (see Chart).

The appropriation bill returned to the House committee. The FEPC funds were again stricken out. At last the House voted for a final sum of $250,000.

Legislation for a permanent FEPC was held up in congressional committees. The threat of a filibuster kept it from the Senate floor, although it gained a favorable committee report. In the House, the legislation was approved by the House Labor Committee but was locked up in the Rules Committee. "A small handful of congressmen in the Rules Committee . . . have prevented this legislation from reaching a vote by Congress," reported President Truman in January. Four Republicans, two Northern Democrats and six Southern Democrats are members of the Rules Committee.

Representative Mary Norton (D, N. J.) led a petition to bring the bill to the House floor. Representative Baldwin (R, N. Y.) called upon Republicans to honor their pledge and sign the petition. An outstanding Republican, Representative La Follette (R, Ind.), declared that "discrimination in employment is an issue on which all of us who are up for reëlection must stand squarely and be counted."

But of the 150 Representatives who signed the petition, more than 80 percent were Democrats.

IN THESE WAYS, reaction in Congress blocked at a crucial moment the great program initiated by President Roosevelt and carried on by President Truman. There are other ways reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress acted more positively.

In labor legislation, Representative Sam Hobbs (D, Ala.) introduced a bill (HR 32) early in the Seventy-ninth Congress, extending the anti-racketeering laws to apply criminal penalties to certain labor-union practices. The bill was passed (see the Chart) and sent to the Senate. The House further debated two amendments of Representative Arends (R, Ill.) to the Smith-Connally Act, to deny collective-bargaining rights to unions under certain conditions and to hamstring political activity by labor. This was one measure that the Rules Committee released. Representative Sabath (D, Ill.) declared in the House debate that the bill was vicious and inspired by the arch enemies of labor. It was defeated by a close vote (see Chart).

Reaction in the House also took positive action to restrict civil rights. While the bill to abolish the poll tax, passed by the House, was blocked in the Senate, reaction in the House moved fast to threaten freedom of speech. By a sharp political trick, Representative Rankin managed to perpetuate the Committee on Un-American Activities under his domination. Gerald L. K. Smith, who is one of the most obvious targets for investigation, greeted the committee and called on it to come out and help in the good work of combating

"Mr. Bilbo ain't gonna like this."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"communism" in Hollywood. "Alien elements are at work out there," Rankin stated, "to overthrow our government by means of subtle propaganda in our movies." Information about the Hollywood investigation was denied to Representative Patterson (D, Cal.). It was given in advance, however, in Gerald Smith's proto-fascist magazine, *The Cross and the Flag*.

There were other parts to President Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights. In these, too, legislation had been brought to a standstill.

The right to adequate medical care. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was held up in the Senate and the House. The Hill-Burton bill for federal aid to hospitals was still in a House committee.

The right to a good education. Three bills for federal aid to education were held up or defeated in House committees.

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a fair return. The Aiken-LaFollette food-allotment bill and the school-lunch bill were in committee.

The right to a decent home. "I urgently recommend that Congress enact broad and comprehensive housing legislation . . ." the President had said. Neither Congress nor the Administration had prepared a program.

"There are also other problems," President Truman said in January. "Comprehensive scientific research, universal training, a health and medical-care program, an adequate salary scale for federal employees, the presidential succession, river-valley development. . . ."

President Roosevelt initiated the program for a progressive peacetime America. President Truman carried it to Congress. Of all that President Truman asked for, Congress enacted only four bills which came at all close to his objectives.

In September, President Truman ended, "Congress, I know . . . will continue to play its patriotic part. . . ."

In January, President Truman ended, "I seek no conflict with Congress. Orderly procedure in the Congress is indispensable but orderly procedure does not mean endless delay. . . ."

But endless delay was no accident. It was a deliberate weapon. "At times," said Representative Brown (R, Ohio), after he listened to President Truman in January, "the greatest service the Congress can render is to refuse to enact ill advised legislation."

Doyle in the Philadelphia Record

As Slow as Cold Molasses

Sense and Nonsense on Atomic Energy

Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.): If man is to survive, international collective bargaining must replace anarchy and lawlessness. We can split the atom. We cannot afford to split the Big Three. . . . If the idea now gains headway that we cannot rely on international agreements, we will head back into isolationism. Tensions will mount, atomic-age isolationism will demand a trigger finger. Unless we advance rapidly in the science of human relations, we will lose the last chance for peace.

Rep. John Rankin (D, Miss.): Let us keep the secrets of the production of the atomic bomb! Let us keep the strongest air force on earth as well as the strongest navy; then, if the international conference does collapse as the result of communistic pressure from the other side, then let us look to America!

In a speech cleared by the Republican National Committee, Senator Robert Taft replied on behalf of the reaction in Congress, to President Truman's appeal:

"The Truman program has been delayed because it is superficial and ill considered, because it is a CIO-PAC program . . . with which the people do not agree."

Of course reaction had beaten the extension of unemployment insurance. The effect of the bill, said Senator Taft, would be to "give left-wing labor control of employment."

Of course reaction had beaten the full-employment bill. According to Senator Taft, "The proposal came directly from the Soviet Constitution, the Communist platform and from the CIO."

Of course reaction had bottled up health-insurance legislation. It was a "left-wing Communist proposal."

Of course reaction had refused to extend price control beyond July. Price control was useless, said Taft, as long as the government insisted on raising wages.

President Truman had appealed to the people to support his, and President Roosevelt's, program. Tut-tut, said Senator Taft. "Former Presidents, even those who were elected President by the people, have not found that a wise or successful method of accomplishing their purposes."

So Senator Taft closes the self-indictment of black reaction in the Seventy-ninth Congress. It is not, we cannot stress too strongly, an indictment of the Seventy-ninth Congress itself. Many fine men and women in Congress worked tirelessly for the Roosevelt-Truman program. It is a summons to action, to help these men and women by reëlecting them, and by making them a working majority, instead of a working minority, in Congress. Reaction in Congress, by its record, has made the alternative clear. The failure of the Seventy-ninth Congress is a demonstration of what reaction can do if it is given full control in 1946.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Record of the House[1]

		Foreign		Domestic									
		Reciprocal Trade Agreement—Recommit	UNRRA—Free Press Amendment	Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities	May-Arends Rule	Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	Wallace and Full Employment	Farm Labor Deferment	Price Control—Jenkins Amendment	Price Control—Andresen Amendment	Poll Tax
		5/26/45	11/ 1/45	1/ 3/45	12/11/45	12/11/45	2/16/45	5/ 3/45	6/23/45	6/23/45	6/12/45
District		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA											
Andrews, Geo. W.	3	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
Boykin	1	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	+	O	−
Grant, Geo.	2	O	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Hobbs	4	+	+	−	−	−	+	O	+	O	−
Jarman	6	+	O	+	−	−	+	O	O	O	−
Manasco	7	+	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	−	−
Patrick	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Rains	5	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	−
Sparkman	8	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
ARIZONA											
Harless	(at large)	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
Murdock	(at large)	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O
ARKANSAS											
Cravens	4	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
Gathings	1	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Harris	7	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	−
Hays	5	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Mills	2	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Norrell	6	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
Trimble	3	+	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
CALIFORNIA											
Anderson, Jack	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Douglas, Helen	14	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Doyle	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Elliott	10	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Engle	2	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Gearhart	9	−	−	−	O	O	O	−	−	−	+
Havenner	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Healy	13	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
Hinshaw	20	−	−	−	O	O	−	+	−	−	+
Holifield	19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Izac	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Johnson, J. L.	3	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	O	O	O
King	17	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Lea	1	−	O	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Miller, Geo.	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McDonough	15	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Outland	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Patterson	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Phillips	22	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
Sheppard	21	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+
Tolan	7	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Voorhis	12	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
Welch	5	O	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+
COLORADO											
Chenoweth	3	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Gillespie	1	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hill	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Rockwell	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
CONNECTICUT											
Geelan	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kopplemann	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Luce	4	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	+
Ryter	(at large)	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Talbot	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Woodhouse	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
DELAWARE											
Traynor	(at large)	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
FLORIDA											
Cannon, Pat	4	−	−	−	O	O	+	O	O	O	−
Hendricks	5	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Peterson, J. H.	1	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Price, Emory	2	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Rogers, D. L.	6	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Sikes	3	−	O	O	−	−	+	+	O	O	−
GEORGIA											
Brown, Paul	10	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Camp	4	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Cox	2	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−
Gibson	8	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	O	−
Pace	3	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Peterson, H.	1	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	O	O	−
Ramspeck	5	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
Tarver	7	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Vinson	6	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	−
Wood	9	+	−	+	−	−	+	O	+	−	−
IDAHO											
Dworshak	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
White	1	+	−	−	O	O	+	O	+	+	O
ILLINOIS											
Allen, Les E.	13	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Arends, Leslie	17	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Bishop	25	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Chiperfield	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Church	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Dawson	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Dirksen	16	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Douglas, E.	(at large)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gordon	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gorski	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Howell	21	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Johnson, Anton	14	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Kelly, E. A.	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	+
Link	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mason	12	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−
McMillen, Rolla	19	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
O'Brien, T. J.	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Price, M.	22	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+
Reed, C. W.	11	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Resa	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rowan	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sabath	5	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
Simpson, S.	20	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Sumner	18	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Vursell	23	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

[1] The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced *for*, [+]. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

Names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in italics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Foreign		Domestic								
		Reciprocal Trade Agreement—Recommit	UNRRA—Free Press Amendment	Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities	May-Arends Rule	Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	Wallace and Full Employment	Farm Labor Deferment	Price Control—Jenkins Amendment	Price Control—Andresen Amendment	Poll Tax
		5/26/45	11/ 1/45	1/ 3/45	12/11/45	12/11/45	2/16/45	5/ 3/45	6/23/45	6/23/45	6/12/45
	District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDIANA											
Gillie	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Grant, Robert	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	+
Halleck	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Harness	5	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Johnson, Noble	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
La Follette	8	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	O	O	O
Landis	7	−	O	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	+
Ludlow	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Madden	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Springer	10	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Wilson	9	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	O	+
IOWA											
Cunningham	5	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Dolliver	6	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+
Gwynne	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Hoeven	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Jensen	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Le Compte	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Martin, J.	1	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Talle	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
KANSAS											
Carlson	6	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	O
Cole, Albert	1	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hope	5	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Rees	4	−	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	+
Scrivner	2	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Winter	3	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	O	O	O
KENTUCKY											
Bates, Joe B.	8	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Chapman	6	+	+	O	−	−	+	−	+	+	O
Chelf	4	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
Clements	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
Gregory	1	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
May	7	+	O	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
O'Neal	3	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
Robsion	9	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Spence	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
LOUISIANA											
Allen, A. Leonard	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
Brooks	4	+	−	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Domengeaux	3	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
Hibert	1	O	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	O
Larcade	7	+	−	−	O	+	O	−	−	−	O
Maloney	2	+	+	−	O	O	+	O	+	+	−
Morrison	6	+	O	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
McKenzie	5	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
MAINE											
Fellows	3	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	O	−
Hale	1	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Smith, M. C.	2	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	O	+
MARYLAND											
Baldwin, H. S.	2	+	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Beall	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
D'Alesandro	3	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
Fallon	4	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
Roe, D.	1	+	O	−	−	−	+	+	O	O	−
Sasscer	5	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS											
Bates, Geo. J.	6	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
Clason	2	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	O	O	O
Curley	11	+	O	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	O
Gifford	9	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	+
Goodwin	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Herter	10	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O
Heselton	1	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Holmes, Pehr	4	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Lane	7	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Martin	14	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McCormack	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Philbin	3	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Rogers, E. N.	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Wigglesworth	13	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
MICHIGAN											
Blackney	6	−	−	O	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Bradley, Fred	11	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Crawford	8	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Dingell	15	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dondero	17	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Engel	9	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hoffman	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Hook	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jonkman	5	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Lesinski	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Michener	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
O'Brien, G.	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rabaut	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sadowski	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Shafer	3	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+
Wolcott	7	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Woodruff	10	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
MINNESOTA											
Andersen, H. C.	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Andresen, A. H.	1	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O
Gallagher	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hagen	9	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O
O'Hara	2	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
Judd	5	+	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	−	+
Knutson	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Pittenger	8	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Starkey	4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISSISSIPPI											
Abernethy	4	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
Colmer	6	+	+	−	−	−	O	+	+	−	−
McGehee	7	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−	−
Rankin	1	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Whitten	2	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−
Whittington	3	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Winstead	5	+	−	−	O	O	−	−	+	−	−
MISSOURI											
Arnold, Wat	1	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Bell	4	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
Bennett, M. T.	6	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Cannon, Clarence	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Carnahan	8	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cochran	13	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Cole, Wm.	3	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Ploeser	12	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	O	O	+
Schwabe	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Short	7	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O
Slaughter	5	+	+	O	−	−	−	+	+	O	−
Sullivan	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Zimmerman	10	+	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
MONTANA											
D'Ewart	2		−		+	−					
Mansfield, M.	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Foreign		Domestic								
		Reciprocal Trade Agreement—Recommit	UNRRA—Free Press Amendment	Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities	May–Arends Rule	Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	Wallace and Full Employment	Farm Labor Deferment	Price Control—Jenkins Amendment	Price Control—Andresen Amendment	Poll Tax
		5/26/45	11/ 1/45	1/ 3/45	12/11/45	12/11/45	2/16/45	5/ 3/45	6/28/45	6/28/45	6/12/45
	District	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NEBRASKA											
Buffett	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Curtis	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Miller, A. L.	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Stefan	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
NEVADA											
Bunker (at large)		O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE											
Adams	2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Merrow	1	+	O	+	O	O	–	–	–	–	O
NEW JERSEY											
Auchincloss	3	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Canfield	8	–	–	+	+	–	–	O	–	–	+
Case, Clifford	6	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Eaton	5	O	–	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Hand	2	–	–	+	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
Hart	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Hartley	10	–	O	+	+	O	–	+	–	–	+
Kean	12	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
Norton	13	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Powers	4	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Sundstrom	11	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
Thomas, J. P.	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Towe	9	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
Wolverton	1	–	–	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	+
NEW MEXICO											
Fernandez (at large)		+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
NEW YORK											
Andrews, W. G.	42	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Baldwin, J. C.	17	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	O	O	+
Barry, Wm. B.	4	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+
Bennet	29	+	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	O
Bloom	20	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O
Buck	16	–	–	O	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
Buckley	25	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Butler	44	–	–	O	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
Byrne	32	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Celler	15	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Cole, Sterling	39	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
Delaney, James J	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delaney, John J.	7	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Dickstein	19	+	O	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Elsaesser	43	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	O	–	+
Fuller	35	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gamble	28	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Gwinn	27	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	O	+
Hall, E. A.	37	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Hall, Leonard	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
Hancock	36	–	–	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
Heffernan	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kearney	31	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
Keogh	9	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kilburn	34	–	O	–	–	–	–	O	O	–	–
Latham	3	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Le Fevre	30	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Lynch	23	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Marcantonio (ALP)	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
O'Toole	13	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Pfeifer	8	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Powell	22	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
Quinn	26	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rabin	24	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rayfiel	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Reed, D.	45	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Roe, James	5	+	+	+	O	–	O	+	O	+	O
Rogers, G. F.	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rooney	12	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Sharp	1	–	–	O	+	–	–	–	O	–	O
Somers	10	+	+	O	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Taber	38	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Taylor	33	–	–	+	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
Torrens	21	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wadsworth	41	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NORTH CAROLINA											
Barden	3	+	–	O	–	–	+	O	–	O	–
Bonner	1	+	–	+	–	–	+	O	+	+	–
Bulwinkle	11	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
Burgin	8	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	+	+	–
Clark	7	+	+	O	O	–	+	+	O	O	–
Cooley	4	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	O	O	–
Doughton	9	+	+	O	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
Durham	6	+	+	+	–	O	+	+	O	O	–
Ervin	10	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Folger	5	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
Kerr	2	+	O	+	–	–	O	+	+	+	–
Weaver	12	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	O	–
NORTH DAKOTA											
Lemke (at large)		–	–	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	+
Robertson (at large)		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
OHIO											
Bender (at large)		O	–	+	+	O	–	–	–	–	+
Bolton	22	–	–	+	+	–	O	–	–	–	+
Brehm	11	–	–	O	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
Brown	9	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
Clevenger	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Crosser	21	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+
Elston	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Feighan	20	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gardner	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
Griffiths	15	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Hess	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Huber	14	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Jenkins	10	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
Jones, Robt. F.	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	O
Kirwan	19	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Lewis	18	–	–	+	O	O	–	–	–	–	+
McCowen	6	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
McGregor	17	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Ramey	9	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
Smith, F. C.	8	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	O	O
Thom	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
Vorys	12	–	–	–	O	O	–	O	–	–	+
Weichel	13	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
OKLAHOMA											
Boren	4	O	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
Johnson, Jed	6	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
Monroney	5	+	O	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
Rizley	8	–	–	O	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Schwabe, G.	1	–	–	–	O	O	–	–	–	–	–
Stewart	3	+	+	–	–	–	–	O	–	–	O
Stigler	2	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
Wickersham	7	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
OREGON											
Boren	4	O	+	+	–	–	–	+	O	O	O
Ellsworth	4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
Mott	1	–	O	+	–	–	–	O	–	–	+
Stockman	2	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

		Foreign		Domestic								
		Reciprocal Trade Agreement—Recommit	UNRRA—Free Press Amendment	Permanent Committee on Un-American Activities	May-Arends Rule	Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill	Wallace and Full Employment	Farm Labor Deferment	Price Control—Jenkins Amendment	Price Control—Andresen Amendment	Poll Tax
		5/26/45	11/ 1/45	1/ 3/45	12/11/45	12/11/45	2/16/45	5/ 3/45	6/23/45	6/23/45	6/12/45
District		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PENNSYLVANIA											
Barrett, W. A.	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Bradley, Michael	3	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O
Brumbaugh	22	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Campbell	29	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Corbett	30	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
Eberharter	32	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
Fenton	12	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+
Flood	11	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Fulton	31	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	−	+
Gavin	19	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Gerlach	8	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Gillette	14	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Graham	25	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Granahan	2	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Green	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gross	21	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hoch	18	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kelley, A. B.	27	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kinzer	9	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Kunkel	18	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+
Morgan	24	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Murphy	10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
McConnell	16	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
McGlinchey	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rich	15	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Rodgers	28	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	O
Sheridan	4	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	+
Simpson	17	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	O	O
Snyder	23	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Tibbott	26	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Walter	20	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	−	+
Weiss	33	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+
Wolfenden	7	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
RHODE ISLAND											
Fogarty	2	−	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Forand	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA											
Bryson	4	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Hare	3	+	+	−	−	−	O	O	+	+	−
McMillan, John	6	+	+	−	−	−	O	O	+	+	−
Richards	5	+	+	−	−	−	+	O	+	+	−
Riley	2	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Rivers	1	+	+	−	−	−	−	O	O	O	−
SOUTH DAKOTA											
Case, Francis	2	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
Mundt	1	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+
TENNESSEE											
Cooper	9	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Courtney	7	+	+	O	−	−	+	−	+	+	−
Davis	10	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
Earthman	5	+	−	O	−	−	+	−	O	O	O
Gore	4	+	+	O	−	−		+	+	+	+
Jennings	2	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Kefauver	3	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+
Murray, J.	8	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Priest	6	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
Reece	1	−	−	O	O	O	−	−	−	−	O
TEXAS											
Beckworth	3	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Combs	2	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	−	−
Fisher	21	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Gossett	13	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
Johnson, L. A.	6	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Johnson, L. B.	10	O	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Kilday	20	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Lanham	12	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Lyle	14	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Mahon	19	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Mansfield	9	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Patman	1	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Pickett	7	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Poage	11	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−
Rayburn (Speaker)	4										
Russell	17	+	O	−	−	−	O	+	+	−	−
Sumners	5	+	+	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Thomas, A.	8	+	+	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+
Thomason	16	+	O	+	−	−	+	O	+	+	+
West	15	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Worley	18	O	+	−	−	−	+	O	O	O	−
UTAH											
Granger	1	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robinson	2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT											
Plumley (at large)		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
VIRGINIA											
Bland	1	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Burch	5	+	+	+	−	−	+	O	+	+	−
Daughton	2	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	+	+	−
Drewry	4	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
Flannagan	9	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
Gary, J. Vaughan	8	+	+		+	−		+	+	+	−
Robertson, A. W.	7	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Smith, H.	8	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Woodrum	6	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	O	O	−
WASHINGTON											
Coffee	6	+	+	O	O	O	+	O	+	+	+
De Lacy	1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Holmes, Hal	4	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Horan	5	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+
Jackson	2	+	+	O	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
Savage	8	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA											
Bailey	3	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O
Ellis	4	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hedrick	6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Kee	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Neely	1	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Randolph	2	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WISCONSIN											
Biemiller	5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Byrnes	8	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
Henry	2	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Hull	9	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+
Keefe	6	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+
Murray, R.	7	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
O'Konski	10	−	−	−	+	+	−	O	−	−	+
Smith, L. H.	1	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
Stevenson	3	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
Wasielewski	4	+	+	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+
WYOMING											
Barrett, F. (at large)		−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Explanation of House Chart

No. 1. Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. – The purpose of this bill, debated in the House on May 26, 1945, was not only to extend the Act but to enlarge the President's bargaining power by granting him additional authority to cut or increase existing tariffs. Representative Knutson (R, Minn.) proposed that the bill be recommitted. His proposal was defeated by a vote of 181-212. Prior to the vote to recommit the bill, 13 crippling amendments had been offered and rejected. There was almost solid Republican opposition to the bill. Although 34 Republicans voted for the final bill, 27 of them had voted in favor of the motion to recommit.

No. 2. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration Participation Act. – An amendment was offered on November 1, 1945, which was obviously intended to prevent aid to Russia and her so-called "satellites." This amendment provided that "none of the funds appropriated hereby . . . shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government interferes with or refuses full and free access to the news of any and all activities of UNRRA, by representatives of the press and radio of the United States. . . ." The amendment was passed by 188-168, but was later removed from the final bill as passed by both Houses.

No. 3. Creating a Permanent House Committee on Un-American Activities. – This committee was brought into existence on the first day of the Seventy-ninth Congress, January 3, 1945, by an adroit maneuver of Representative Rankin, who embodied the provision in an amendment to a resolution which merely continued the rules of the Seventy-eighth Congress. He thus avoided the necessity of referring the proposal to create the new committee. Representative Rankin obtained adoption of the amendment by raising the bugaboo that the collection of rumors and hearsay represented by the files of the Dies Committee would be destroyed if the permanent committee were not created immediately. His amendment was carried by a vote of 207-186. It was the first time in the history of Congress that a standing committee with power not only to investigate but to report legislation had been established in this manner.

No. 4. The May-Arends Rule. – This was a "gag" rule offered in connection with the vicious May-Arends anti-labor bill. The rule would have permitted amendments to the bill to be offered only by its sponsor, the Military Affairs Committee, and no member of the House could have raised any points of order against the bill or the amendments. The bill, ostensibly designed to repeal the Smith-Connally Act, also included provisions which would have prevented labor unions from making political campaign contributions, and would have destroyed collective bargaining by penalizing unions for any breaches of no-strike provisions in contracts. The "gag" rule was designed to bypass the more tolerant Labor Committee and blackjack Congress into enacting anti-labor legislation. The rule was defeated by a vote of 182-200, on December 11, 1945.

No. 5. The Hobbs Anti-Racketeering Bill is an amendment to the existing anti-racketeering law established in June, 1943, which would bring labor unions within its reach. The amendment was designed to undo the effect of what Representative Cox bluntly called "the outrageous opinion of the Supreme Court in the Teamsters' Union Case, where the Court legitimatized highway robbery when committed by a labor goon." In spite of Representative Sabath's denunciation of its anti-labor bias, the resolution was passed on December 11, 1945, by a vote of 259-108.

No. 6. Wallace and Full Employment. – The George bill, S.375, provided for the separation of the RFC from the Department of Commerce. It also prohibited the President from using his authority under the War Powers Act to restore the federal lending agencies to the Department of Commerce in the future, and further provided for the audit of all government-owned corporations by the General Accounting Office. The effort to recommit the George bill on February 16, 1945, was a delaying tactic in the confirmation of Wallace. The motion to recommit was defeated by a vote of 196-204. Although the passage of the George bill assured the confirmation of Wallace, it was at the same time a blow to the program of full employment which he would have been able to promote had he retained control of the lending agencies.

No. 7. The Deferment of Farm Workers. – The Tydings Amendment to the Selective Service Act permitted deferment of farm workers on an individual basis. When General Hershey issued a directive abolishing that practice, there was great though confused protest in the Farm Bloc. The Flannagan bill was then pased in the House to ensure farm-labor deferment. It was President Truman's first major veto of a bill passed by Congress. The necessary two-thirds vote to override the veto was not obtained and the bill failed to pass on May 3, 1945. The vote was 185-177.

No. 8. Extension of Price Control, Jenkins Amendment. – This amendment, inspired by a letter from ex-President Hoover, would have transferred price controls over food to the Secretary of Agriculture, who was ex-Representative Anderson. On June 23, 1945, it was defeated by a vote of 178-198.

No. 9. Andresen Amendment. – This amendment subjected all regulations, orders and directives relating to agricultural commodities (including livestock) to the approval of the Secretary of Agriculture. This manifestation of congressional courtesy, which endangered a unified price-control policy, was adopted by a vote of 211-155 on June 23, 1945.

No. 10. Anti-Poll-Tax Bill. – On January 3, 1945, Representative Marcantonio reintroduced the bill to abolish the poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in national elections. When the House Judiciary Committee took no action on the bill and the Rules Committee did not bring it to the floor, a coalition committee was formed to steer it to a final vote. It was passed on June 12,1945, by a vote of 251-105.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECORD *of the* UNITED AUTON AGRICULTURAL

A chronological digest of the hearings held before Senator Mead's Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program and what it tells about the UAW-CIO contribution to the war effort during the crucial years 1940-45

November, 1940

Walter Reuther's plan for converting the unused capacity of auto plants to mass production of airplanes was first announced. In 1941 the plan was urgently proposed by the UAW and submitted to both government and industry. It showed that only the tools required for adapting existing machinery to airplane manufacture would have to be made, that new machines would not have to be built, and that industry could thus produce 500 planes a day. . . . A UAW survey had revealed that the industry was operating at about 50% of maximum capacity and machine tools were not utilized more than 35%, that auto motor-building facilities could be converted to make plane engines and body plants, wings and fuselage. The plan proposed a tripartite aviation production board to implement it. . . . But auto-industry executives, following a business-as-usual policy, and the airplane interests, fearing competition, combined to kill the plan in 1941.

February, 1941

Representatives of 160,000 workers in General Motors Detroit meeting backed Reuther plan. . . . R. J. Thomas, in broadcast defending it, declared: "Right now Fisher Body No. 23 plant, largest tool and die shop in the world, has less than 300 men at work out of a peak force six months ago of almost 2,000. The same is true in Cleveland, Flint and elsewhere. There ought to be coördinated planning to bring idle men and idle machinery together."

February, 1941

Delegation of UAW and CIO leaders from Toledo area met with government heads to ask that a larger share of defense work be placed in Toledo plants, pointing out that some 21,000 workers were idle there. . . . A UAW survey of Reo plant in Flint, Michigan, showed only 700 working out of 3,000 employed at peak. . . . Members of UAW Local at Vultee Aircraft completed a contract for 300 basic trainer planes 40 days ahead of schedule.

June, 1941

UAW submitted plan, drawn up by Richard T. Frankensteen, to President Roosevelt, Congress and to the people, to give us a genuine and an effective national defense, by rationalizing the labor supply for the aviation industry through a survey of job needs, expansion of defense training facilities, etc.

September, 1941

Testifying before the Tolan committee, UAW again called for conversion of the auto industry to defense production and opposed building new machines and plants, insisting that had industry and government carried out the union's proposal for such conversion earlier, the privation and hardship imposed on thousands of workers as a result of unemployment could have been avoided.

January, 1942

Full page UAW-CIO ads in Washington and New York papers asked to end delay in converting auto industry and revealed that Tolan committee findings showed only a negligible part of the industry was employed in the war effort. . . . Report of Truman committee supported UAW's contention that "we could and should have made use of automobile plants and tools." The report also brought out "that the information furnished to the OPM and the Under Secretary of War by the automobile companies" to establish "that automobile plants could not produce tanks and airplanes and that it was advisable and necessary to build new plants for that purpose . . . was quite inaccurate."

January, 1942

UAW presented a comprehensive program for all-out conversion of the auto industry to the Tolan committee. Employers branded it as socialistic. . . . Two UAW workers from Dodge plant were sent to Washington to get war work for huge Dodge plant having only a small percentage of its peak force of 25,000 on war orders. They got to Morgenthau who cut through red tape and insisted that the Army find defense work for Dodge immediately. . . . UAW urged 168-hour week in all General Motors plants and the introduction of swing shifts. . . . UAW Chrysler workers asked that more women and Negroes be placed in war jobs. . . . In February, 1942, the government ordered the ending of all civilian auto production, which the UAW had urged as early as August, 1941.

March, 1942

R. J. Thomas placed a complete housing program for defense areas before President Roosevelt. . . . UAW auxiliaries spurred drive for nursery schools for working mothers in Detroit area. . . . UAW gave full backing to Donald Nelson (WPB) plan to set up labor-management committees to increase war production.

March 11, 1942

Detroit locals protested to Donald Nelson the diversion of vital copper, nickel and other metals from the war effort to produce replacement grills and molding for cars. Within a week a WPB order put an end to this criminal use of scarce materials. . . . UAW questionnaire revealed workers' dissatisfaction with production record on war work, the complaint being that as soon as output exceeded what other departments could handle workers were paid off and machinery left idle, that plants did not work the 168-hour week, that labor's time-saving suggestions were ignored. . . . Walter Reuther declared that a standard tank engine should be made in order to reduce maintenance difficulties and eliminate need for various types of fuel—a suggestion later accepted by the armed forces.

April 7-9, 1942

UAW called national conference and adopted "equality of sacrifice" program, giving up premium pay for Saturday-Sunday work and asking for a comprehensive stabilization program, including price control and rationing. . . . UAW again complained to President Roosevelt that Dodge plant had failed to convert, that less than 25% of its main plant machinery and only 10% of its floor space were being used for war work.

June-July, 1942

Richard T. Frankensteen requested WPB to hold labor-management conference on the subject of labor turnover in the aircraft industry and proposed measures for its correction. . . . Walter Reuther charged that 2,500,000 tons of steel were being used to build barracks and ware-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ILE, AIRCRAFT AND PLEMENT WORKERS *of America*

UAW-CIO

s, resulting in the shutdown of many plants, when lumber could have been just as well for the purpose.

ust, 1942

AW time-study technician, McWil-, at government's request, investi- production problems at Fry Prod- Co., Detroit, and found that it was ged by inexperienced representative editors' committee. By putting sug- ons McWilliams made into effect, the any was able to double production on der for Army cots and increase out- 25% on contract for barrack bags.

ember, 1942

AW denounced General Motors and sler for refusal to establish labor- gement committees which would advantage of the constant stream of stions coming from their workers on production could be increased.

ber, 1942

AW protested to WPB the diversion eneral Motors of precious metal and d workers in Pontiac to produce fenders for old jalopies. . . . Three n members from Pontiac were hon- by WPB for their ideas which cut required for their jobs by 768 hours revious two months.

uary, 1943

eorge Addes charged labor hoarding serious problem in Detroit area and Dodge truck as an example, revealing workers there were held to an average k-week of 32 hours and some 300 were sed releases which would have per- ted them to seek employment in nearby its where they were badly needed.

rch, 1943

Nineteen Michigan warworkers, 17 of n UAW members, were named win- by the WPB of national honors for gestions that increased and improved duction. . . . UAW urged government investigate layoffs and idle machinery Grand Blanc tank plant and Fisher No. 1 plant, when tanks were vitally needed by the armed forces.

May 19, 1943

Thomas and Addes, testifying before Senate sub-committee on War Mobilization, supported Pepper-Tolan-Kilgore bill designed to bring about maximum mobilization of the nation's resources through coördinated planning by management, labor, government. They pointed out that conflicting authority of government agencies hampered war efforts. In advocating more labor-management coöperation, they revealed that a labor committee in Ford had cut time 72.5% in building jeep motors and another had increased rolling-mill production 220 tons a day with no additional men. . . . General manager of Michigan Manufacturers Association in debate with UAW director on September 15th opposed the formation of such committees.

October-November, 1943

UAW convention in Buffalo reaffirmed no-strike pledge by overwhelming majority and demanded full mobilization and utilization of all workers without regard to race, creed, color or sex. . . . The Union asked all locals to help place disabled veterans in shops. . . . The workers on the country's model labor-management committee were revealed to be UAW members.

February, 1944

200 plants with UAW union contracts received Army-Navy E for excellence in war production. . . . UAW announced formation of a woman's bureau to reduce absenteeism and labor turnover.

April, 1944

As a result largely of UAW prodding, Congress made available additional money to establish child-care centers for children of working mothers. . . . R. J. Thomas testifying before Senate sub-committee on War contracts declared that current cutbacks showed need for industry-labor-government coöperation to avoid dislocations and hardships and that the resumption of civilian production must be more closely integrated with curtailment of war production.

May 31, 1944

UAW, in condemning Brewster-Bailey bill before Senate Military Affairs Committee, declared that the proper use of existing labor through a real utilization service would increase effective manpower by a minimum of 10%. . . . Specific cases of increased production, as a result of labor's suggestions in regard to dust and fume control, in-plant feeding, better lighting, particularly in Wilson Foundry and Lake Foundry, were cited.

September-October, 1944

The UAW made an agreement with President's Fair Employment Practice Committee for joint action in the settlement of cases of discrimination because of color or creed in plants where there are UAW locals. . . . Department was set up in the UAW to help veterans get satisfactory jobs and to have clause inserted in agreements giving them seniority credit for time spent in service.

December, 1944

UAW first national women's conference urged full utilization of women in war effort and postwar employment.

January 21, 1945

UAW pointed out that, despite the critical shortage of castings for military items, the big Ford foundry in the Rouge plant was operating at only about 50% of normal, revealing that between six and seven thousand Ford foundry workers had either been laid off or transferred to other jobs. The Union urged that contracts be placed at once in the Ford plant as well as in captive foundries of General Motors and Chrysler.

November 6, 1945

R. J. Thomas proposed to President Truman a broad Federal program to provide needed housing for returning veterans and others. Parts of the program accepted.

That's the record the UAW-CIO made through the war years. It reveals what the Union stood for, what it fought for, and what it achieved. Does it convey to you the impression that the UAW, in the fight it makes today for high wages, full employment, abundance for all, would be making an irresponsible grab for power? Does it make you feel that the Union merely wants to get its unmanicured finger in management's private pie? Does it suggest by any chance that the public interest always fares second best where the UAW is concerned? We submit the record; *we stand by the record!*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Record of the Senate

	Foreign		Domestic							
	Reciprocal Trade Agreements	Bretton Woods—Taft Postponement	To Postpone the Return of USES to States	Extend War Powers Six Months	Confirmation of Aubrey Williams	Wallace and Full Employment	Agriculture—Wherry Amendment	Full Employment—Hickenlooper Amendment	Price Control—Barkley Amendment	FEPC—Barkley Amendment
	6/19/45	7/18/45	11/20/45	12/19/45	3/23/45	2/ 1/45	6/11/45	9/28/45	6/11/45	6/30/45
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ALABAMA										
Bankhead	O	O	O	O	−	−	+	+	+	−
Hill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
ARIZONA										
Hayden	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*McFarland	−	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	O	+
ARKANSAS										
Fulbright	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
McClellan	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	+	O	−
CALIFORNIA										
Downey	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
Knowland			−	−						
COLORADO										
Johnson	−	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
Millikin	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	O	−
CONNECTICUT										
McMahon	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
**Hart*	O	−	O	−	−		+	O	+	+
DELAWARE										
Buck	+	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O
*Tunnell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLORIDA										
*Andrews	O	+	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Pepper	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	O
GEORGIA										
George	+	+	+	O	−	−	+	O	+	−
Russell	O	+	O	+	−	+	O	+	O	−
IDAHO										
Taylor	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	O
*Gossett [1]				+						
ILLINOIS										
Brooks	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Lucas	+	+	−	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
INDIANA										
Capehart	−	−	O	O	−	−	O	−	O	+
**Willis*	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	O
IOWA										
Hickenlooper	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
Wilson	−	O	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	O
KANSAS										
Capper	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
Reed	−	O	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	O

	Foreign		Domestic							
	Reciprocal Trade Agreements	Bretton Woods—Taft Postponement	To Postpone the Return of USES to States	Extend War Powers Six Months	Confirmation of Aubrey Williams	Wallace and Full Employment	Agriculture—Wherry Amendment	Full Employment—Hickenlooper Amendment	Price Control—Barkley Amendment	FEPC—Barkley Amendment
	6/19/45	7/18/45	11/20/45	12/19/45	3/23/45	2/ 1/45	6/11/45	9/28/45	6/11/45	6/30/45
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
KENTUCKY										
Barkley	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
**Stanfill* [1]				−						
LOUISIANA										
Ellender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
Overton	+	O	O	O	−	+	+	+	+	−
MAINE										
**Brewster*	−	−	−	O	−	+	−	O	−	O
White	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+
MARYLAND										
**Radcliffe*	+	+	−	+	−	O	O	−	O	+
Tydings	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	O
MASSACHUSETTS										
Saltonstall	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	O
*Walsh	−	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+
MICHIGAN										
Ferguson	+	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−
**Vandenberg*	O	+	O	−	−	−	O	−	O	+
MINNESOTA										
Ball	+	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	+
**Shipstead*	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	O
MISSISSIPPI										
*Bilbo	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−
Eastland	+	+	+	O	−	+	O	O	O	−
MISSOURI										
*Briggs	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	O
Donnell	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+	−	−
MONTANA										
Murray	−	+	O	O	+	+	O	+	O	+
*Wheeler	O	−	−	+	+	O	O	+	O	O
NEBRASKA										
**Butler*	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+
Wherry	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
NEVADA										
McCarran	O	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	O
*Carville			−	+				+		
NEW HAMPSHIRE										
Bridges	−	O	O	O	−	−	−	O	−	+
Tobey	+	+	−	−	O	−	+	+	+	O
NEW JERSEY										
Hawkes	−	−	O	O	−	−	O	−	O	O
**Smith*	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO										
*Chavez	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
Hatch	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	O	+	+
NEW YORK										
**Mead*	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+
Wagner	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA										
Bailey	+	O	O	O	−	−	O	−	O	−
Hoey	+	+	−	−	+	−	O	+	O	−

NOTE: [*] indicates Senators whose terms expire in 1947.

The symbol [+] indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol [−] indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* are tabulated [−]; those for, or announced *for*, [+]. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated [O]. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress. The names of Democrats are set in roman type and Republicans in italics.

[1] Must stand for election in 1946 to fill the unexpired term.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	Foreign		Domestic							
	Reciprocal Trade Agreements	Bretton Woods—Taft Postponement	To Postpone the Return of USES to States	Extend War Powers Six Months	Confirmation of Aubrey Williams	Wallace and Full Employment	Agriculture—Wherry Amendment	Full Employment—Hickenlooper Amendment	Price Control—Barkley Amendment	FEPC—Barkley Amendment
	6/19/45	7/18/45	11/20/45	12/19/45	3/23/45	2/1/45	6/11/45	9/28/46	6/11/45	6/30/45
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NORTH DAKOTA										
*Langer	–	–	0	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
Young	–	–	+	–	+		0	+	0	0
OHIO										
*Huffman			+	+						
Taft	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
OKLAHOMA										
Moore	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Thomas	–	+	–	0	+	+	–	+	–	0
OREGON										
Condon	0	–	–	0	–	–	0	–	0	+
Morse	+	+	–	0	+	+	–	+	–	–
PENNSYLVANIA										
*Guffey	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	0	+	+
Myers	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND										
*Gerry	–	0	–	0	–	–	+	–	+	+
Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA										
Johnston	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
Maybank	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	–
SOUTH DAKOTA										
Bushfield	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	0	–	–
Gurney	–	–	–	–	–	–	0	–	0	+
TENNESSEE										
*McKellar	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
Stewart	+	+	+	+	–	–	0	+	0	–
TEXAS										
*Connally	0	0	+	0	–	–	0	+	0	–
O'Daniel	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
UTAH										
*Murdock	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Thomas	+	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0
VERMONT										
Aiken	+	+	0	0	+	+	–	+	+	+
*Austin	+	+	0	–	–	+	–	0	–	0
VIRGINIA										
*Byrd	+	+	0	–	–	–	0	–	0	–
Glass	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WASHINGTON										
Magnuson	0	+	0	0	+	+	–	+	+	0
*Mitchell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WEST VIRGINIA										
*Kilgore	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+	0	+
Revercomb	–	–	+	–	–	–	0	–	0	0
WISCONSIN										
*La Follette (Prog.)	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Wiley	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
WYOMING										
*O'Mahoney	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Robertson	–	–	–	0	–	–	–	–	–	0

Explanation of Senate Chart

No. 1. Extension of Trade Agreements Act. – This bill involved not only the renewal of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements but provision for presidential authority to reduce tariffs by an additional 50 percent. On June 19, 1945, the Senate voted on an amendment—inspired by a recommendation of the Senate Finance Committee—to eliminate the provision which would increase the President's power. This amendment was defeated by a vote of 33-47.

No. 2. Bretton Woods Monetary Agreement. – Senator Taft, together with three other Republican members of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, had issued a minority report which objected to both the bank and the Fund provisions of the Bretton Woods Agreement. On July 18 Senator Taft made a motion to postpone further consideration of the bill until November 15, 1945. It was rejected by a vote of 31-52. Final passage came the next day, July 19, when the bill was passed by a vote of 61 to 16. Many Senators who are on record as voting for final passage of the Agreement did so only after voting for amendments which would have crippled or killed it.

No. 3. Postpone Return of USES to States—Barkley Amendment. – The fixing of the date of the return of the United States Employment Service was tacked on as a rider to the Appropriation Rescission Act cutting back various wartime appropriations. The House bill required the return of the USES to the states within 30 days. In the Senate this period was extended to 120 days. Senator Barkley offered an amendment further still to postpone the return of the Service to the states from three to six months. His amendment was defeated by a vote of 31-35, on November 20, 1945.

No. 4. Extension of Second War Powers Act. – This bill was misnamed, for it was really a measure to facilitate reconversion. The bill, as it passed the House, extended the act only for six months, or until June 30, 1946. The Senate Judiciary Committee amended the bill so as to extend it to December 31, 1946. Despite the administrative need for the longer extension, in view of the complex nature of the types of controls covered by the bill, and the fact that all but a small number of wartime controls had already been voluntarily terminated by the Administration, the year's extension was denied by the Senate on December 19, 1945, in the name of "selective extension" later. The vote on the rejection of the amendment was 30 to 31.

No. 5. Nomination of Aubrey Williams as REA Administrator. – Although Aubrey Williams had been unanimously confirmed by the Senate as head of the NYA, his nomination as REA Administrator was rejected by the Senate on March 23, 1945, by a vote of 36 to 52, which was a triumph for the forces of religious, racial and economic bigotry. The record showed that Aubrey Williams had had long and successful administrative experience as Deputy Administrator of the WPA and as head of the NYA. He was accused, however, of prejudice in favor of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Negro race, affirmative belief in cheaper electricity for farmers and lack of belief in the divinity of Christ.

No. 6. The Wallace Nomination and the Bailey Motion. – While the George bill to divorce the RFC from the Department of Commerce was pending, Senator Bailey moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business, which would have meant voting on the nomination of Wallace as Secretary of Commerce before the separation of the RFC therefrom. This would probably have led to the rejection of the Wallace nomination. The Bailey motion was defeated on February 1, 1945, but by the narrow margin of 41-43.

No. 7. The Wherry Amendment to Price-Control Extension. – This amendment sought to guarantee to the producers of agricultural commodities their cost of production, plus a reasonable margin of profit. As Senator Wherry explained it, the amendment would do "to the producer what would be done to the processor" under the Barkley Amendment. The Wherry Amendment was adopted on June 11, 1945, by a vote of 37-29. As Senator Taft pointed out in explaining his vote against it, the Wherry Amendment "set up a cost-of-production standard which would be contradictory to the parity standard."

No. 8. The Hickenlooper Amendment to the Full-Employment Bill. – This was one of the flood of amendments by which the devotees of "free enterprise" sought to emasculate the Murray-Patman full-employment bill. The amendment declared that the government "should not pursue a policy of engaging in commercial activity" in competition with free enterprise or private capital. It would thus have prevented the government from continuing in numerous enterprises in which it was already engaged, including the REA, TVA, irrigation and the operation of the Senate Restaurant. The amendment was defeated by a vote of 30-49 on September 28, 1945.

No. 9. Price-Control Extension. – On June 11, 1945, Senator Thomas (D., Okla.) offered an amendment which would have required the OPA to fix such ceiling prices for all *processors* of agricultural commodities as would have allowed each of them to realize a profit above the cost of production. Since almost all products are manufactured from agricultural commodities, it would have been impossible for the OPA to administer such a scheme. Senator Barkley offered a substitute amendment which narrowed the provision to livestock *processors* and required OPA ceilings to permit the realization of profits above the cost of production on categories of livestock. Senator Barkley's amendment was accepted by a vote of 36-31.

No. 10. Barkley Amendment to the Fair Employment Practice Commission Appropriation. – After Senators Bilbo and Eastland had filibustered against the appropriation of funds for the FEPC for several days, Senator Barkley obtained consent to offer an amendment reducing its appropriation from $446,200 to $250,000. This compromise was accepted on June 30, 1945, by a vote of 42-26. Senators Morse and Ferguson explained that they had voted against the amendment because it was a compromise with principle and would make it impossible for the FEPC to carry on its work. The supporters of the amendment felt that they had at least saved the life of the FEPC. They put their hopes on the possibility of setting a deficiency appropriation, or obtaining legislation establishing a permanent FEPC.

A Big Vote Is a Good Vote

More votes mean better government. More votes mean the election of men who best represent popular progressive feeling. Let's look at the record.

In 1940 there were about 80 million potential voters in this country. In 1944 they increased to 88 million. In those two elections there were cast for President 49,800,000 votes (1940) and 48,025,000 (1944). Sixty-two percent and 55 percent of our potential voters.

In normal times, 1944 would have seen a turnout of about 55 million voters if the trend of the last two decades had continued. With 10 million men and women overseas or away from home, with millions of migrant war workers, the turnout of over 48 million was 11 million more than Dr. Gallup's early forecast.

In the 1944 presidential election, although the total national vote dropped, some state totals rose. In Michigan the vote increased by about 114,000; the state went Democratic. In 1940 it went Republican. In New York State, the total vote increased 13,000. Democratic votes increased about 53,000 while Republican votes dropped 40,000. In Ohio the total fell by 164,000. The Republicans lost less than a thousand votes in 1944, compared to 1940, but the Democrats lost 163,000.

There were only 11 states with 70-percent vote participation in the 1944 election. Twelve states showed less than 50-percent participation, and all of these except Arizona are in the deep South. Only Kentucky and Oklahoma were over the 50-percent line and even those had less than 55 percent. (In 1944 the 13 Southern states averaged only 30-percent participation in the general election.)

Carter Manasco (D, Ala.) received less than 22,000 votes out of a potential of 145,000. The total vote in the primary was 25,000 and in November, 33,000.

Eugene Cox of Georgia won his seat (which he has held for more than twenty years) by 21,000 out of a potential 160,000 votes. Cox has top seniority on the all-important Rules Committee, now chaired by 79-year-old Adolph Sabath.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Wood (D, Ga.), chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, was sent to the House by 26,000 out of 135,000 voters.

There are only 13 Southern states, but 20 of their Senators are chairmen of the 42 Senate committees, nine of them key committees. Twenty more are next in line of seniority to chairmen. In the House, 34 Southern Representatives are in the chair of the House's 55 committees, 19 of them key committees. Thirty-four others are next in line of seniority.

THE EFFECT of a small vote is of course easiest to grasp in the South. The progressives come from the city areas, where the vote is heaviest. The present California delegation from the Los Angeles and San Francisco areas is one of the best groups of legislators ever elected. Both areas had a larger vote in 1944 (as did the state) than in 1942. Representative Hugh DeLacy was elected from the only county in Washington whose vote increased over 1940. Connecticut, with a delegation of six Republicans in 1942, returned four Democrats, two Republicans, plus an able Democratic Senator, Brien McMahon, in '44. In Michigan almost the entire increase in votes came from the city of Detroit, among whose Representatives is John Dingell, sponsor of the new health bill.

A large vote defeated Hamilton Fish. In Minnesota, in Hennepin County (Minneapolis), an increased vote elected William Gallagher, a progressive Democrat, to replace Richard P. Gale, a Republican.

The effects of a small vote in senatorial races, of which we may have 35 this year, are striking. In '40, 132,000 voted in Delaware and elected James M. Tunnell (D), distinguished fighter for a full-employment program, and especially for the 65-cent minimum wage. In 1942, 85,000 votes elected Delaware's Senator C. Douglass Buck, a genuine du Pont reactionary Republican. Tunnell is up for reëlection this year.

In Idaho, 142,000 in 1942 elected John Thomas, whose record was poor, and 209,000 in 1944 elected Glenn Taylor, whose record is excellent.

Similarly in West Virginia, 874,000 voters in 1940 elected a splendid leader, Senator Harley Kilgore (D), and in 1942, 404,000 elected Chapman Revercomb, another straight du Pont Republican.

Will 1946 be like 1942, when only 28 million citizens voted, with a consequent drop in Democratic Representatives from 267 to 222 and an increase in Republicans from 162 to 209? The large vote in 1944 changed that to 243 Democrats and 190 Republicans. Simple arithmetic shows that if we have a small vote this year, many liberal and progressive congressmen are likely to be beaten.

The rewards of a big vote in 1946 are clear. In 1942, 50 districts which were Democratic in 1940 became Republican. Only six Republican ones became Democratic. Of the 50 that went Republican in '42, 18 returned to the Democrats in '44, plus 18 other districts which had been Republican since 1940. When the turn-out is small, the Republican vote drops comparatively little, but the Democratic vote drops sharply.

In the present Congress there are 53 Republican and 43 Democratic Representatives in marginal districts, where a shift of five percent or less of the total '44 vote will bring a change in the party incumbent. The ten lowest Republicans are Max Schwabe, William Cole, and Wat Arnold (Mo.), John Butler (N. Y.), Howard Campbell and Louis Graham (Pa.), John Heselton (Mass.), Clare Luce (Conn.), Charles Wolverton (N. J.), and Chester Merrow (N. H.). Each of the three Missouri seats and Representative Luce's seat were Democratic in 1940. The New Hampshire district has been very close for the last three elections, with a slight gain for the Democratic candidate and a small loss for the Republican indicated. The New Jersey district has been heavily Republican, but the same trend is occurring as in Merrow's district.

The ten lowest Democrats are Franck Havenner (Calif.), George Rogers (N. Y.), Melvin Price (Ill.), A. S. J. Carnahan (Mo.), Frank Hook (Mich.), Walter Huber (Ohio), Philip Traynor (Del.), Matthew Neeley (W. Va.), Daniel Hoch and Herbert McGlinchey (Pa.). Almost every one has been a fighter, not just a voter, for necessary legislation. Representatives Rogers, Neeley, Carnahan, Huber, Hook, Traynor, McGlinchey and Price are in districts which were Democratic in 1940 and Republican in '42's low vote.

There are two conclusions for liberals: abolish the poll tax; do everything possible to obtain the largest vote, the fullest use of democracy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Timetable of Primaries and Elections, 1946

STATE	DATE OF PRIMARY	LAST DAY FOR FILING	REGISTRATION PRIMARY	REGISTRATION GENERAL ELECTION	TO BE ELECTED HOUSE OF REP.	TO BE ELECTED SENATE (Name-Incumbent)	VOTED IN '44	POTENTIAL VOTERS IN '40
Alabama	May 7 (first) June 4 (run-off)	If filed by Mar. 1 with State Exec. Comm. can wait until Mar. 6 to file with Secy. of State	1st and 3rd Monday of every month plus various appt. days in different localities	Same as for primary [1]		None	247,749	1,555,369
Arizona	July 16	June 6	Open through June 10	Open through Sept 30	2	McFarland (D.)	137,634	263,346
Arkansas	July 16 (first) Aug. 6 (run-off)	April 17	No formal registration	No formal registration	7	None	217,207	1,098,986
California	June 4	Mar. 26	Open through April 25	Open through Sept. 25	23	Knowland (R.)	3,520,875	4,455,677
Colorado	Sept. 10	Chosen by Assembly whose nominations must be filed by July 27	Open through Aug. 31	Open through Oct. 26	4	None	505,049	688,410
Connecticut	A Convention chooses	A Convention chooses	———	Open through Oct. 19	6	Hart (R.)	831,990	1,011,658
Delaware	A Convention chooses [1]	A Convention chooses [1]	———	Open through Oct. 19 [1]	1	Tunnell (D.)	126,440	171,856
Florida	May 7 (first) May 28 (run-off)	Noon Feb. 1	Mar. 4 - Apr. 20	Aug. 5 - Oct. 19	6	Andrews (D.)	482,592	1,187,827
Georgia	Probably July 2 [1]	Probably June 2 [1]	Open through Jan. 2 [1]	Open through May 5 [1]	10	None	328,111	1,768,969
Idaho	June 11	May 11	Open through June 8	Open through Nov. 2	2	Gossett (D.)	209,469	305,311
Illinois	April 9	Jan. 29	Open through Mar. 12	Open through Oct. 7	28	None	4,036,061	5,119,854
Indiana	May 7	April 6	Open through April 8	Open through Oct. 8	11	Willis (R.)	1,672,091	2,198,935
Iowa	June 3	Mar. 15	Where reg. is permanent open through May 24, others up through June 3	Where registration is perm. through Oct. 26 —others, through Nov. 5	8	None	1,052,599	1,608,926
Kansas	Aug. 6	Noon June 20	Open through July 16 for 1st class cities, Open through July 26 for 2nd class cities [1]	Where registration is permanent Through Oct. 15 for 1st class cities, Through Oct. 25 for 2nd class cities [1]	6	None	733,776	1,144,823
Kentucky	Aug. 3	June 24	Open through June 5	Open through Sept. 7	9	Stanfill (R.)	867,921	1,630,772
Louisiana	Sept. 10 (first) Oct. 15 (run-off)	Midnight July 22	Open through August 10	Open through Oct. 5	8	None	349,383	1,364,933
Maine	June 17	April 15	Varies locally, closes few days before election. In towns under 500, register anytime up through day of election	Same as for Primary (NB.—State elections, Sept. 9th)	3	Brewster (R.)	296,400	493,506
Maryland	May 6 [1]	April 6 [1]	Open through April 6 in Baltimore, and Washington, Montgomery Counties; others vary [1]	Open through Sept. 21 [1] (as per Primary)	6	Radcliffe (D.)	608,439	1,153,510
Massachusetts	Probably July 9 [1]	Probably April 2 [1]	Open through 20th day preceding Primary Date [1]	Open through 20th day preceding general election (Oct. 16)	14	Walsh (D.)	2,009,993	2,575,477
Michigan	Sept. 10	July 16	Open through Aug. 21	Open through Oct. 16	17	Vandenberg (R.)	2,205,217	3,131,722
Minnesota	July 8	April 15	June 18	Oct. 16	9	Shipstead (R.)	1,125,529	1,730,547
Mississippi	July 2 (first) Aug. 20 (run-off)	May 2	Must Register by Primary	Must Register by July 5	7	Bilbo (D.)	180,080	1,195,079
Missouri	Aug. 6	April 30	July 9	Oct. 8	13	Briggs (D.)	1,571,678	2,463,726
Montana	July 16	June 5	Open through May 31	Open through Sept. 20	2	Wheeler (D.)	207,355	343,180
Nebraska	June 11	April 12	Open through June 1	Open through Oct. 26	4	Butler (R.)	563,126	817,280
Nevada	Sept. 3 [1]	Aug. 4 [1]	May 1 through Aug. 14	May 1 through Oct. 16 [1]	1	Carville (D.)	54,234	70,327
N. Hampshire	Aug. 6	6 P.M. July 1	Two days at least between June 12 and June 21	Varies locally—through Sat. preceding election or through Sat. ten days prior to election	2	None	229,625	295,859
New Jersey	June 11	May 2	Open through May 2	Open through Sept. 26	14	Smith (R.)	1,963,761	2,592,978
New Mexico	June 4 [1]	May 4 [1]	Open through May 4	Open through Oct. 5 [1]	2	Chavez (D.)	152,225	275,227
New York	Aug. 6 [1]	July 2 [1]	Open through July 1 [1]	Open through Oct. 12 [1]	45	Mead (D.)	6,415,918	8,327,563
North Carolina	May 25 (first) June 22 (run-off)	Mar. 16	April 27 through May 11	Oct. 8 through Oct. 22 [1]	12	None	790,554	1,925,483
North Dakota	June 25	April 16	Open through May 28	Open through Oct. 29 [1]	2	Langer (R.) Young (R.) [2]	220,171	358,090
Ohio	May 7	Feb. 6	Open through April 8	Open through Oct. 7	23	Huffman (D.)	3,153,056	4,404,428
Oklahoma	July 2 (first) July 23 (run-off)	April 7 [1]	June 1 through June 21 (first), June 23 through July 12 (run-off)	Oct. 5 through Oct. 15 [1]	8	None	722,636	1,362,438
Oregon	May 17	Mar. 8	Open through April 16	Open through Oct. 5	4	None	480,147	717,121
Pennsylvania	May 21	Mar. 11	Open through March 31	Open through Sept. 15	33	Guffey (D.)	3,794,787	6,031,192

[1] Not official, but likely. All others are official.
[2] Special election on June 5.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rhode Island	Convention chooses	Convention chosses	Convention chooses	Open through June 30	2	Gerry (D.)	299,276	424,876
South Carolina	July 30 [1]	Unknown as yet	Fixed by Democratic Party Exec. Committees	Fixed by Democratic Party Exec. Committees	6	None	103,375	989,841
South Dakota	June 4	May 4	Open through May 18	Open through Oct. 28	2	None	232,076	378,405
Tennessee	Aug. 1	June 1	Open through July 12	Open through Oct. 16 [1]	10	McKellar (D.)	510,792	1,703,391
Texas	July 27 (first) Aug. 24 (run-off)	May 20	Not Required	Not Required	21	Connally (D.)	1,150,330	3,710,374
Utah	July 9	May 29	Last day is July 6	Last day is Oct. 29	2	Murdock (D.)	248,319	298,160
Vermont	Aug. 13	June 6	Open through Aug. 10	Open through Nov. 2	1	Austin (R.)	125,361	214,248
Virginia	Aug. 6 [1]	May 8 [1]	Open through July 22 [1]	Open through Oct. 5 [1]	9	Byrd (D.)	388,458	1,567,517
Washington	July 9	May 10	Open through June 22	Open through Oct. 19	6	Mitchell (D.)	856,328	1,123,725
West Virginia	Aug. 6	May 4	Open through July 8	Open through Oct. 7	6	Kilgore (D.)	715,596	1,046,000
Wisconsin	Aug. 13	May 31	Open through July 31	Open through Oct. 23	10	LaFollette (Prog.)	1,339,152	1,941,603
Wyoming	July 16	June 17	Open through July 16	Open through Oct. 26	1	O'Mahoney (D.)	101,340	150,031

[1] Not official, but likely. All others are official.

What You Can Do

TWENTY YEARS AGO in New York State women had just begun to vote and were not yet admitted into party conventions and caucuses. Liberal and labor movements are still in the position of the women of the early twenties. Their votes and endorsements are anxiously sought, but they remain outside the parties, and when the decisions are being made on candidates and policies, they must seek insiders to intervene for them.

Although the vast bulk of liberal and labor voters accept the two-party system, they have no position within the party structure commensurate with their voting power. They are practically unrepresented in the elaborate structure of precinct captains, ward and district leaders, county, state and national committeemen and women. Yet these are the people who designate primary candidates. As a result, progressives in the 1946 congressional elections are in the unsatisfactory position, except in a few areas, of accepting or rejecting choices made by other people.

The professional politicians are not unhappy about this arrangement. It was largely at their insistence that at the close of the 1940 campaign the Norris-LaGuardia Committee for Roosevelt and Wallace was placed under wraps. The survival of the PAC and the development of comparable organizations after the 1944 campaign have left them in an uneasy frame of mind. They know these organizations have capacities for mustering votes and workers unavailable to the regular party organizations. At the same time they are worried that these new organizations will gain too much political power and control. They will not really be alarmed, however, so long as the progressive vote exercises its influence chiefly by rewarding friends and punishing enemies on Election Day.

There are many things which progressives can still do to affect the primaries this spring and the elections next fall. Given an acceptance of the two-party system as the framework for progressive political activity, we must turn also to the long-range, fundamental problem of developing methods that will give to progressive groups political authority comparable to their political importance.

The most effective channel through which the progressive voter can exert an immediate influence in the 1946 primaries is to join or initiate a progressive voters' group such as those affiliated with the National Citizens' PAC, the CIO-PAC, the Union for Democratic Action and the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts and Sciences. They can also, of course, form a local group with no national affiliation, such as the Independent Voters of Illinois.

Such progressive groups should be set up in every community in America, in every ward and precinct. They must draw their support from the membership of the numerous civil groups which have been deeply concerned with issues such as housing, health, full employment, minority rights, atomic energy and the UNO. Women's organizations like the League of Women Voters, the National Council of Jewish Women, the AAUW, the YWCA's, Negro groups such as the NAACP and the National Urban League, farm organizations such as the National Farmers' Union, parent, youth and church groups are the sources of strength for the independent voters' groups.

The support and leadership of organized labor is an indispensable part of such a group. Labor has political experience and knowledge of political techniques. The unions have memberships whose voting power politicians respect. In communities in which a CIO-PAC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

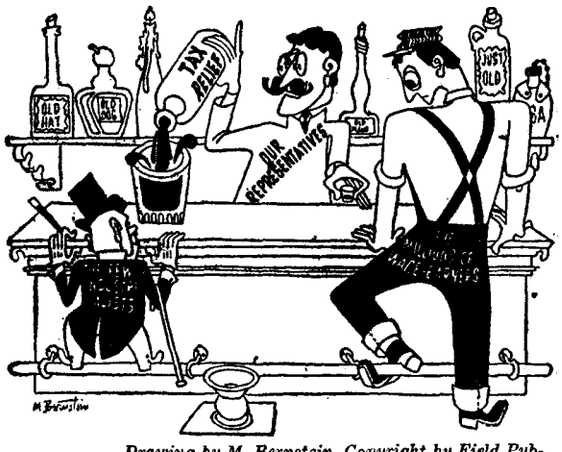
organization exists, close collaboration between it and an independent citizens' group is indispensable. Real efforts should also be made to bring the unions of the AFL and the railroad brotherhoods into a coöperative relationship through the independent group.

THESE independent groups have several immediate and urgent tasks in connection with the primaries:

1. They must undertake, well in advance of filing time, preliminary negotiations with the leaders of the regular organizations on the type of candidate they would like to have nominated. The group should find out, before it enters such discussions, the candidate or candidates that are actually under consideration, and know its attitude toward them. If these individuals are not acceptable, the group should be ready with well qualified substitutes who could be available to the party ticket. You cannot beat somebody with nobody.

2. If the regular party organization is indifferent to the independent group, the latter has several alternative courses of action. Theoretically, it is possible to turn to the other party. If that party is equally indifferent, the independents can initiate a primary fight in the party whose registered voters are most likely to support a well qualified liberal. It can enter the primaries of both parties. In the famous fight to unseat Ham Fish, where earlier efforts in which Republicans and independents supported a Democrat running on the Democratic ticket failed, the later tactic of having a Republican run on the Democratic ticket succeeded. In the forthcoming elections the Independent Voters of Illinois, in some congressional districts, are negotiating with the Democratic leadership; in others, where some outstanding progressive Republicans are available, they are concentrating on the Republican primaries.

3. The determination as to which course of action to pursue and what type of candidate would make the grade, as well as the waging of an effective campaign in the primaries, requires a detailed knowledge of the district in which one is working. One must know how and why people voted as they did, or did not vote at all. One hard-headed PAC worker, shown such an analysis of a congressional district where she had worked unsuccessfully in 1944, exclaimed that, armed with that analysis, she was sure she could win—in '46.



Drawing by M. Bernstein. Copyright by Field Publications, Inc., and reprinted by courtesy of PM.

On the House

4. A progressive group counts heavily in a primary fight. The party vote in the primaries, compared to the regular election, is small, sometimes as low as 10 percent. Even a small group of energetic voters, armed with registration lists, voting records and other literature, can produce through canvassing and doorbell-ringing results quite out of proportion to the number of people at work. One of the characteristics of regular party organizations is a flabbiness and inertia which sometimes manifests itself in the small number of workers they can muster during a campaign, and the unimaginative quality of campaigning. An independent group allied with the regular party organization will frequently find the real campaign work turned over to it. While this involves backbreaking work, it is the best opportunity for the progressive group to establish itself with the electorate and increase its influence within the party structure itself.

5. There must be constant education on issues. It is the concern with issues and the mobilization of public opinion that distinguishes the independent group from the regular party organization. This concern must never be lost sight of or subordinated to political negotiations and strategies, for it is the real source of strength of the progressives. In between elections, this traditionally has meant pressure on elected officials. Similar pressure should be exerted on party organizations, on district, county, state and national committees.

FROM A long-range point of view, the most realistic approach for progressives, in our opinion, is to work simultaneously with some group such as the NC-PAC, the CIO-PAC or the UDA, and with the regular organization of the party which shows the greatest hospitality to progressive ideas. Realistically, this means the Democratic Party, although there will be some local exceptions. To work in the party means to join the local club, because the local club is the foundation of the American political party system. Joining is not as easy as it sounds. To progressives accustomed to working in organizations in which there is a constant desperate struggle to get membership, it comes as a shock to discover that many political clubs prefer to remain small societies on the theory that the fewer people sharing the pie, the larger the portions.

Club jurisdiction varies from state to state. In New York there is a club and leader for every Assembly District; in Chicago for every ward; elsewhere for every county. The club membership is usually very small compared to the total number of registered party voters. Its active membership is even smaller, consisting generally of officeholders, political aspirants, their relatives and friends. Legal control of these clubs is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ATOMIC ENERGY for ENDURING PEACE

MEDICAL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY is the title of an article in the January Atlantic Monthly by Professor Robley D. Evans of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This institution was prominent in the development of atomic energy and the discovery of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Evans' article shows that through medical advances alone atomic energy has already saved more lives than were snuffed out by the bombs.

The subject of atomic energy reminds us that pupils in our schools have the right to study out of textbooks which tell of atomic development. Such textbooks can be found in Physics and in Chemistry.

Not only in Science, but in Geography, the Social Studies and Mathematics, young American pupils have the right to study from new books which have the latest developments in the subject. Such books are available.

TWO CENTS

OUT OF THE SCHOOL DOLLAR WILL PROVIDE NEW FRESH TEXTBOOKS THROUGHOUT

A complete equipment of new textbooks costs less than 2 percent of each school dollar. Pretended economies reducing textbook purchases save only a very small sum at the cost of impaired results for the pupils.

Textbooks and teaching are a team, each necessary to the other. Let us have the best of both.

Below are listed a few of the textbooks in the above-named subjects which are available to young pupils of America:—

Stull-Hatch Global Geographies
Quinlan Basal Primary Readers
Rainbow Readers, Adventures in Science
Adventures in English, New Language Books
Adventures in Language, Activity Notebooks
Magruder's American Government in 1946
Hughes' Building Citizenship
Townsend's Our America
Hughes' Making of Today's World
West and West's History Series
Global Geography for High Schools
Wood and Carpenter's Our Environment
A Complete Modern Science Series
Brownlee's Elements of Chemistry
Fuller, Brownlee and Baker's Physics
Smallwood's New Biology
Stein's Refresher Arithmetic
The New Mathematics Series
Edgerton and Carpenter's Algebras
Chardenal Textbooks in French
Smith-Thompson's First Year Latin

Allyn and Bacon

Boston New York Chicago Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

usually vested in an executive committee whose members are elected in the primaries. An aspirant for club leadership must either gain the support of these committeemen or contest their election in a primary fight.

The club leader has his lieutenants in the precinct or election-district captains. The leader and his captains exercise the real power. They designate primary candidates. They control the distribution of patronage. Naturally they are not completely independent, because higher levels of party organization have ways of influencing local choices.

To achieve status and influence in this set-up, one must help in the election routine of canvassing, bringing out the vote, supervising the count. He must be of assistance in the between-election work of performing favors and services for the club's constituency. He must participate in the club's social life, the bingo parties and clambakes. He must be regular. If he works persistently and well and is qualified, he may in time be rewarded with a precinct captaincy or nomination. Is it possible to work in this way without in time being molded into a complete conformist by the party machine and without dulling the original convictions that led one to join the club? It is, if one remains aligned with the general progressive movement.

Large sections of the Democratic Party, smaller ones of the Republican, recognize that survival depends on adaptability to new currents of opinion, on infusing the organization with new blood, on integrating into the party organization the elements of the Roosevelt coalition that mean the difference between victory or defeat. This process of adjustment and assimilation is reflected in primary fights, in organizational caucuses, in clubroom gossip. It is mirrored in the approaching fight between Representative Kefauver and Senator McKellar in Tennessee for the senatorial nomination; in the New Deal leadership and outlook of the Young Democratic convention recently held in Texas; in the dominant position occupied by the liberal-labor coalition in some of the Western state organizations. The Newbold Morris group in the Republican Party in New York City represents a comparable development, although on a much smaller scale, within the Republican organization.

The progressive who joins the local party club will find allies today. If he keeps at it long and hard enough, if at every club meeting he stresses issues and the party's responsibility to deal with issues, he will in time develop strength. It is not an overnight job, but it is the only way to achieve lasting results.

"A Handful of Men"

Many . . . measures have been recommended by me . . . But Congress has done little, very little, about them. . . . It is the committees which hold up action on bills. Indeed, it is usually not even the whole committee . . . often a bare majority of a committee—a handful of men—can prevent a vote by the whole Congress on these measures of majority policy.

THIS PART of President Truman's January 3 address to the nation contained a much-needed lesson in civics. Most citizens do not understand the congressional procedures to which the President was referring and therefore do not always understand how effective concentrated pressures on Congress can be. In this last session of Congress, the "handful of men," reactionaries of both parties, formed a working coalition to block the most progressive parts of President Truman's legislative program. They put all their knowledge and venom into contriving bottlenecks where bottlenecks did not exist before, stopping progress by whatever means they could command.

It is often true that the men with longest tenure in Congress also have the blackest records. This is largely because so many of them come from the Southern states where the poll-tax system operates to keep men from that section in office much longer than men from other sections usually serve. Because of the premium which present House and Senate rules place upon seniority, these men advance to the top positions in the key committees and stay there. As a result, in this last session, only three of the eleven key Senate committee chairmen were friendly to the Administration's social program. Only four of twelve key chairmen in the House could be counted on to support the Adminstration.

Almost all the key men upon whom Truman as party leader should have been able to rely in the Seventy-ninth Congress were old or tired or not overly enthusiastic about the program he called for. The eleven "kingpins of the Senate," the key committee chairmen, have an average age of 69. Kenneth McKellar, a formidable bottleneck by himself, at 76 is the oldest of the group. In the House, the key chairmen average 68 years of age.

There was a further complication in the House. Country lawyers confronted Truman at every turn. All eight of the House committees that handle the majority of the bills covering reconversion and full employment are headed by men from predominantly rural areas. Their constituents are least concerned about the urgency of industrial reconversion problems. Seven of the twelve key House committee chairmen are country lawyers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The cards were stacked against Mr. Truman especially heavily on those issues which were most vital to the preservation of New Deal unity. The "handful of men" of the old coalition not only denied to Congress the right to discuss measures to assure full employment, unemployment compensation and social security, but blocked action on anti-poll-tax and fair-employment-practice legislation. All these issues were of primary interest to the labor and minority groups of the New Deal.

ONE OF the first requests the President made of Congress was for speedy action on unemployment-compensation legislation, to provide a maximum of $25 for 26 weeks to ease the strain of reconversion on the low wage earner. Unfortunately for the common people of the nation, the bill containing the President's proposal was referred in the Senate to the Finance Committee, headed by *Walter George* of Georgia, so violent a defender of special privilege that President Roosevelt singled him out for "purging" as far back as 1938. In the House, the bill fell into the hands of another expert old reactionary, *"Muley Bob" Doughton* of North Carolina, who has ruled the House Ways and Means Committee to the benefit of the best-heeled part of our population for the last dozen years. Both George and Doughton are old-time members of the Unholy Alliance of Southern Democrats and conservative Republicans. Doughton and the ranking minority member of his committee, the isolationist *Harold Knutson* of Minnesota, were of one mind about the unemployment-compensation bill, and it is gathering dust in a Ways and Means pigeonhole.

The "handful of men" did the same kind of job on the Murray-Patman full-employment bill, which had Administration support early in the year. Fortunately, Senator Wagner's (N. Y.) Banking and Currency Committee had jurisdiction over the bill in the Upper House and the progressives there were able to force it onto the Senate floor in still recognizable shape. But in the House one of the most disruptive youngsters, *Carter Manasco* (Ala.), employed all the Republocrat tactics he had learned from observing his elders, and by combining with the ranking Republicans on his Expenditures Committee, led by *Clare Hoffman* of Michigan, he made such a mess of the full-employment measure that the President has seen fit to denounce the committee's actions to the whole nation on two separate occasions.

The worst bottleneck, and the most difficult to break, is the House Rules Committee, which holds practically life-and-death power over all bills. Every measure that goes to the floor of the House must first come before the Rules Committee to be given a place on the official calendar. In that committee, the Republocrat coalition is in supreme control. Rules Committee Chairman Adolph Sabath (Ill.), a good New Dealer, is powerless

Does your hand *FOLLOW* your heart?

- Thousands who have always been at the bottom rung of the wage ladder are now grasping at overtime work and earnings of wife and children to buy even the minimum necessities of life at war-swollen prices.
- Returning servicemen are showing increasing cynicism about the brave new world they bought with their blood as they face job offers of $20 a week.
- Unscrupulous firms taking advantage of loopholes in present child labor prohibitions are profiting from exploitation of children.
- Workers in many canneries exempted from coverage under the Fair Labor Standards Act work long hours at rates lower than present minimum wages.

These sore spots in our American way of life CAN BE CURED!

Remember once when your heart said, "Do it," you asked for her hand.

This time when your heart says, "Do it," take pen in hand and woo your representatives in Congress over to support for the

65¢ MINIMUM WAGE BILL

Pepper-Hook Bill S1349, HR3914

TOWARD SOCIAL PROGRESS

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A FAIR MINIMUM WAGE

180 THIRD STREET, S. E. WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

MOST REV. BERNARD J. SHEIL, *Chairman* — FRANK P. GRAHAM, *Vice-Chairman*

ELIZABETH S. MAGEE, *Secretary* — MARY ANDERSON, *Treasurer*

☐ I will write to Congressmen to urge their support.

☐ I wish to be on the mailing list for further information on the bill.

☐ I enclose a contribution for the committee's work.

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against a combination of "Democrats" like *Eugene Cox* (Ga.), *Howard Smith* (Va.), *William Colmer* (Miss.), and Republicans *Allen* (Ill.), *Michener* (Mich.), *Halleck* (Ind.) and *Brown* (Ohio). If this team does not like a measure, it is likely to be bottled up in the Rules Committee indefinitely unless 218 members of the House can be persuaded to sign a petition "discharging" the committee from further consideration of the measure and thus forcing it onto the floor for action.

It took such a petition to free the anti-poll-tax bill from the grip of the Rules Committee. The sponsors of the Permanent FEPC bill at the end of January were still struggling to obtain the necessary signatures for its discharge from the Rules trap.

THESE two last-mentioned pieces of legislation, however, provide good examples of other factors in the bottleneck picture which have not been widely understood. Although it is true, as the President has said twice now, that willful individuals in Congress have used the committee system to obstruct his proposals, that is not the whole story. The Administration is not necessarily hamstrung by that action. It could, if it wished, assume the leadership in fights to discharge bottled-up legislation instead of leaving that tough work to the kind of liberal lobbies that have worked so brilliantly on behalf of poll-tax abolition and the FEPC. These groups have worked with limited funds and very limited encouragement from the Administration. The Anti-Poll-Tax Committee forced discharge and passage of the bill in the House and is now trying to crack the much tougher Senate situation. These groups need the Administration, as it needs them, and they need wide public support.

The President also needs the kind of mass support he asked from the nation in his January 3 radio address. In honesty to Congress, it must be said that strong public support for Truman's bottled-up program has not been apparent to Capitol Hill except on a very few issues. "From personal experience," the President told the people, "I know that contact with the people back home helps every public servant. I urge you to tell your public servants your own views concerning the grave problems facing our country. In a free country the voice of the people must be heard."

But if the American people are to live up to the title of "the most powerful pressure group in the world" bestowed on them by President Truman, their support must flow continuously. Congress must be kept constantly aware of the public eye on it. As fast as one bottleneck is broken, the Republocrats in Congress will lose no time in trying to devise another barrier against full democracy. Eternal popular vigilance is the only defense against such action. And that will exist only in company with determined, vigilant leadership which knows where it is going and is not afraid to come to direct grips with its enemies.

do you know

the facts behind today's critical economic issues?

Get information you can't get elsewhere—be WELL INFORMED! Send $1* for a FULL YEAR subscription to all Legislative, Labor, and Economic publications of

CIO POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE

205 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

*or more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the case of the Truman Administration and the congressional bottlenecks, that kind of leadership would accept the challenge to a showdown fight with the old coalition, would let the whole nation know the issues involved and exactly who is on which side. It would push for the long overdue reorganization of Congress itself, for modernizing the committee structure, attacking basic evils like the seniority rule, rules-committee procedures, etc. It would foster bi-partisan action on the progressive side of Congress to break the control of the extreme right wing. To win, the good elements in the Democratic Party will have to work with the best elements in the GOP. A well organized bi-partisan team could break bottlenecks and win victories for the people. These things will have to be done within Congress itself. But they will not be enough unless at the same time the people are organizing in the critical districts to break the Bottleneck Boys at the polls. The President can help most on this score by continuing to call the signals for public pressure on Congress, pointing out the trouble spots and directing the whole national team in wiping them out.

The Year of Decision

SINCE THE ELECTION of the Seventy-ninth Congress in the fall of 1944, the atmosphere of public life in this country and throughout the world has changed beyond recognition. Tremendous events have brought us face to face with the future in a way that could not have been foreseen 15 months ago. Between April and August, 1945, Franklin Roosevelt died, Germany and Japan surrendered, the United Nations Charter was signed and the atomic bomb opened the way to quicker destruction if the Charter should fail. These events mark the end of an era—the era of Roosevelt and Hitler, of the Great Depression and the fight against fascism. This is not to say that the threat of depression or even the threat of fascism has ceased to exist. But the great reassuring voice is gone, along with Hitler's menaces, and we do have something to fear besides fear itself. We are face to face with the future, which means that we are face to face with our own past in a new form—with all the unsolved problems that were put aside in the urgency and under the spell of the New Deal and the war.

Congress, a large part of the public, and even the Administration, have been able to ignore many of the most pressing questions that surround us, simply because they appear old and familiar. We are only too well acquainted with the danger of war in a world of jealous national sovereignties. We are accustomed to the threat of unemployment. Farm returns have been precarious for generations. Discrimination against Negroes, violent relations between workers and employers, cleavages of all kinds in our national life are nothing new. The whole deep contradiction between our equalitarian tradition on the one hand, and an extremely unequal distribution of income, wealth, power and opportunity on the other, has been the pattern of a large part of American history.

But the deep-seated, familiar problems cannot be ignored forever. The problem of slavery was postponed with makeshifts for half a century until it exploded in the Civil War, leaving an aftermath of sectional and racial discord that is still with us. The problem of national sovereignty has hardly even been postponed: it has exploded into war twice in a generation. Problems of insecurity and inequality have been pushed aside. The threat of unemployment remains. It is not safe to assume that our liberties could survive another economic collapse or that our country itself could survive another great war. The crisis that brought Hitler into power in Germany was the culmination of a series of familiar, postponed problems —nationalism, unemployment, inequality, sectional and class cleavages. We have an opportunity now, with no immediate crisis impending—now that we have come safely, if narrowly, through depression and war —to face our conflicts and profit by our experience. That is the meaning of the 1946 elections: Shall we use our opportunity, or shall we invite disaster by looking the other way? This year we must elect Senators and Representatives who will face facts, struggle with difficult issues and accept responsibility.

Once again, the nature of the next Congress will depend on the record of this Congress this year. The principal issues that will confront Congress may be

Bishop in the St. Louis Star-Times

This Strike Must Be Ended, Too

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

summarized in four questions: Shall we have war or peace? Prosperity or depression? Equality or inequality? Unity or discord?

War or Peace?

In the creation of the International Bank, the Monetary Fund, the Food and Agricultural Organization and UNRRA, we have taken the first steps in reconstruction. In the United Nations, we have taken the first step toward peace.

But the United Nations today has not the power to maintain peace and is not a guarantee against war.

The Moscow Agreement in itself implies drastic amendments in the Charter of the United Nations. Beyond the agreement, there are many ways in which the United Nations must be strengthened if it is to prevent war.

The British Parliament is ready to strengthen the United Nations. China and many other nations understand the need. Only a small, brave group in our Congress has shown this understanding. It is the Congress today which limits the efforts of the Administration to advance with the speed that peace demands. Statements in Congress on the British loan proposal, on press restrictions in Central Europe, have shown a spirit of unregenerate isolationism that is thoroughly dangerous. We do not deny the right of political opposition, but slander and incitements to fear, hatred and jealousy are not part of a constructive political opposition in a time as unstable as this. The words of our congressmen are taken seriously abroad and must be taken equally seriously at home—especially by the congressmen themselves.

One great contribution that the new Congress must make towards world peace is to develop an effective program for ensuring permanent full employment in the United States. If we fall back even to the high income of ten years ago we shall have 17 million unemployed. Depression in America means world depression. Our imports fell by 70 percent between 1929 and 1932, imposing an intolerable strain on the economies of exporting countries. World depression today would mean the intensification of nationalism, the reëmergence of dictatorship, the creation of fear and distrust among the great powers, the weakening of the United Nations.

Prosperity or Depression?

Full employment, therefore, must be the prime objective of public policy in the immediate future. We cannot tolerate the misery and frustration of another depression, any more than we can risk the strain that it would impose on international relations. Niggardly definitions and qualms about financing miss the point. There must be a job—a guaranteed job—for everyone who wants to work. Only if this is accomplished shall we have the peace of mind to get on with the other pressing problems that face us. Reasonable prosperity or moderate unemployment is not enough. As long as there are people who can find no productive place in the society, we shall be preoccupied with economic insecurity; for even if the number without jobs is relatively small at any moment, the fear of unemployment will remain. Permanent, guaranteed full employment is psychologically, as well as economically, a very different thing from the uneasy prosperity of a boom. Congressmen, with their dubious tenure, should understand this. But Congress has refused to face the problem.

Full employment can be achieved by a wide variety of methods, with very different social consequences. Nazi Germany used one set of devices, the Scandinavian countries another; Great Britain is experimenting with a third. In the United States we must take care that the plan we adopt works toward greater economic and political equality. We should have expanded social security, and health and education programs designed to equalize the risks and opportunities of life. Special attention must be given to maintaining adequate returns to farmers, and especially to small farmers. The gap between incomes in the South and in other parts of the country must be narrowed. Our oldest and deepest inequality, that between Negroes and the rest of the population, cannot be ignored much longer. At the very least—and it is a pitifully small step—the FEPC should be established as a permanent institution with ample funds.

Increasing equality of income requires that business profits be curtailed. Businessmen and investors should be encouraged to revise their views as to what constitutes a reasonable incentive. They may be allowed

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a large return for a short time if their undertakings are truly risky or a small permanent return if the risk is not great; but they cannot be allowed a large, safe, permanent return.

Unity or Discord?

One of the fundamental diseases of American society is our lack of integration—the ease with which group conflicts can dominate community purpose. We are North and South, labor and management, Negroes and white people, farmers and city-dwellers. Integration in the abstract can be achieved in various ways, but for Americans—with our short history and our particular traditions—increasing equality is the only practical approach to it. On what other basis, for example, can the peculiar violence of labor relations in this country be resolved?

Our cleavages and discords are all reflected in Congress. The pressure of special interests leads to wrangling and obstruction. Yet a common interest does exist, since atomic bombs are not class-conscious. Apart from the threat of destruction, a common interest also exists in the promise of a functioning, democratic society in which liberty and the pursuit of happiness might become realities.

In Congress we need a responsible group of people working toward such a conception of the general welfare. Local initiative is important, but most of the programs outlined above require federal leadership. They require congressional support.

Neither of the two major parties will offer a platform for 1946 that will meet these issues squarely. At the same time, there is no hope of achieving what we are after in 1946 through a third-party movement. What must be done is to encourage good men in both parties to take their individual stands on platforms which are constructed from the planks we have described above. Test each candidate by his attitude on these four great questions and, having done this, support the best man available.

In recent years, party platforms have had a way of disintegrating or disappearing after the votes are counted. After this election, it will be necessary to keep on working to make sure that our progressive program becomes a guide to everyday actions as well as a subject for campaign oratory. It will be necessary to tighten and toughen the organization of the now loosely functioning progressive wing of the Congress. The state of the Democratic majority in Congress today is not very different from the condition which prevailed among New York Democrats early in the last century after they had "succumbed comfortably to the temptation of boom." At that time one of Martin Van Buren's liberal lieutenants made a recommendation which could apply to the Democratic Party today: "If we cannot get a different class of men into the legislature, the sooner we go into a minority, the better. . . . We must have less strength or more virtue if we would administer the affairs of the state either for our own honor or the public good." "More virtue" in both parties and more coalition of the virtuous ones in support of a truly progressive program are the objective and the agenda for 1946.

"Nineteen forty-six is our year of decision." Will the decision be war or peace, prosperity or depression, equality or inequality, unity or discord in this crucial nation? It is your decision.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

SUBSCRIPTION REMINDER

READING the *New Republic* every week is an experience you should not miss. Let us enter your subscription now, and you will be sure of receiving regularly the stimulating magazine that is needed to "keep America on a progressive course" (Henry A. Wallace.)

One Year Only Five Dollars
Introductory: 13 Weeks One Dollar

The New Republic, 40 East 49th St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription. I enclose $5 or $1.

Name .....

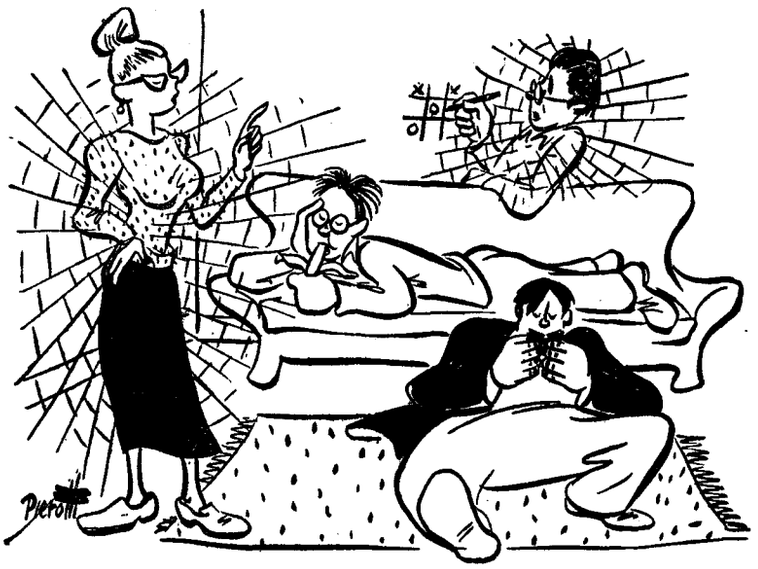
Address .....

City ..... State .....

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y. 178

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liberalism as Usual in '46



Nationwide POLL Reveals

SURVEY RESULTS

	Unorganized Liberals		UDA Members	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	Percent			
Question: Do you believe that a stable American economy depends on full production, full employment and full consumption?	86	14	100	0
If your answer is yes, did you help mobilize sentiment in your community for passage of the full employment bill?	17	83	91	9
Question: Do you believe that the removal of OPA controls will lead to a period of inflation?	94	6	100	0
Are you working with consumer groups?	11	89	86	14
Question: Do you believe America will be a better place in which to live if we have a permanent FEPC, national health insurance, expanded social security, and an anti-poll tax law?	93	7	100	0
Did you urge your Congressmen to vote and work for these measures?	9	91	89	11
Question: Do you believe that world democracy can be built on starvation?	10	90	0	100
If not, did you do anything to speed UNRRA appropriations? Sound international trade agreements?	13	87	91	9
Question: Do you believe UNO rather than military installations represents our primary security against aggression?	85	15	100	0
Have you told this to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee?	72	28	85	15
Question: Do you believe that the 79th Congress has discharged its responsibilities to the people it represents?	10	90	0	100
Have you discharged your responsibility by starting to work now to elect a Congress that will represent the progressive aspirations of the people?	15	85	90	10
Question: Do you believe that people who share similar political beliefs should pool their strength and work as a team?	79	21	100	0
If so, have you joined the UDA?				

SUMMARY

Majority of liberal opinion is highly individual and unorganized. Lacking leadership and direction, its political efforts are sporadic and ineffective.

UDA opinion is highly organized as a result of its realization that "the people are the greatest pressure group in the world." UDA members receive benefit of:

1. UDA's effective lobby in Washington which also serves as a clearinghouse for other liberal and labor groups.
2. *UDA Congressional Newsletter*, published twice each month, keeps members up to date on Congress, Congressmen and legislation, substituting facts for rumor and progressive point of view for reactionary press opinion.
3. Special pamphlets on national and international issues which outline pending legislation and suggest positive courses of action.
4. UDA meetings, forums, radio programs, rallies featuring such speakers as Henry A. Wallace, Eleanor Roosevelt, Senator Murray, Walter Reuther, Philip Murray, Henry Kaiser, Leon Henderson, Channing Tobias, Max Lerner, Frank Gervasi, Jay Allen, Quincy Howe, which mobilize public support for progressive legislation.

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
819 13th Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C.

☐ I want to become a member of the UDA. I enclose $10.00 to cover annual dues, including subscription to the *Congressional Newsletter*.

☐ Before joining, I wish to know more about the UDA. Please send me literature.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED